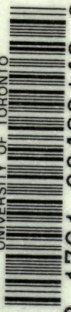
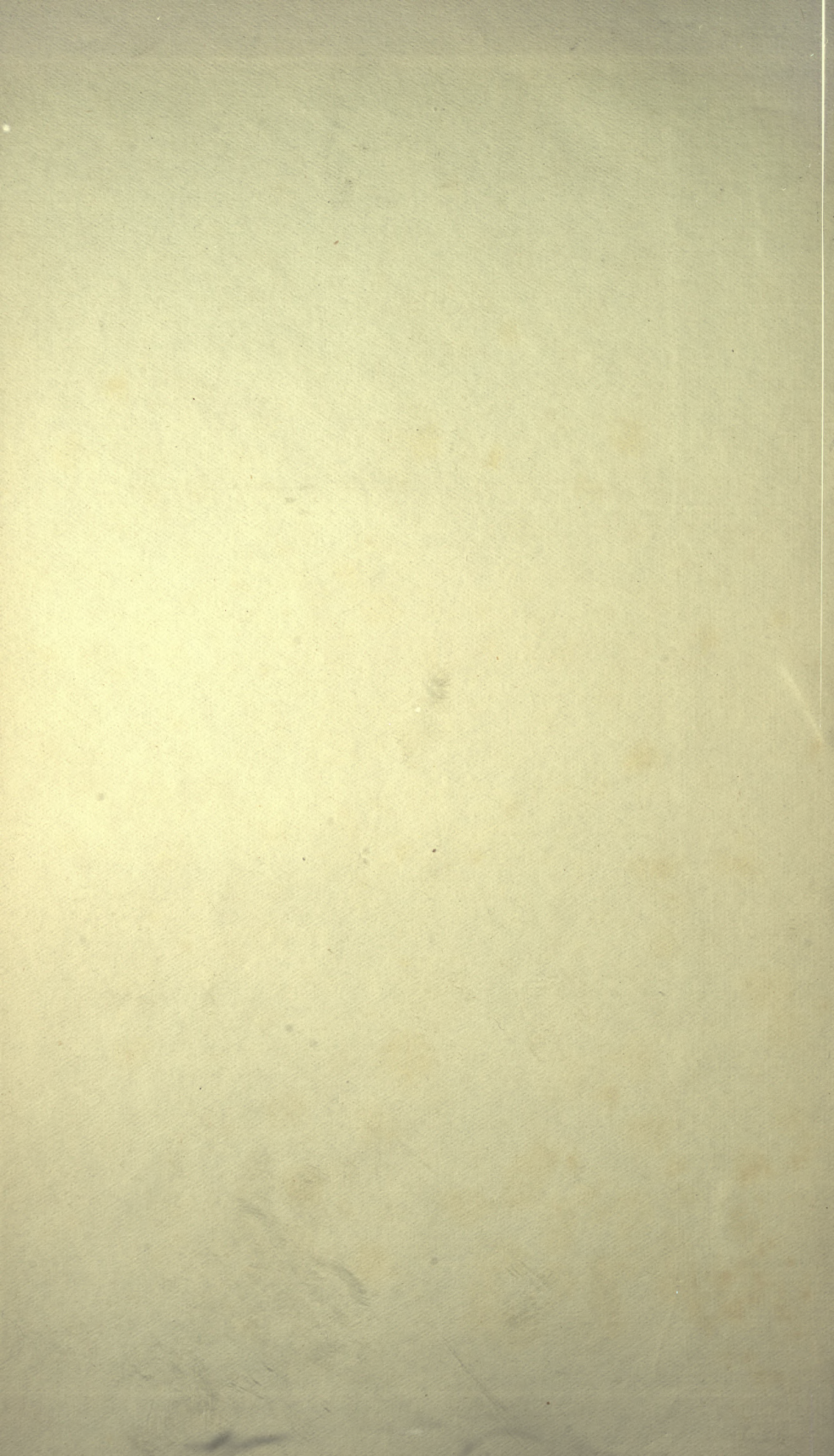


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The William Salt Archaeological Society.

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II.—The leading object of the Society shall be the editing and printing of original documents relating to the County of Stafford, to which, however, may be added papers selected by an Editorial Committee, illustrative of the same, or coming under any of the eight following heads:—

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- (b) Printing and editing of the Public Records relating to the County, including the Exchequer or Pipe Rolls, the Assize Rolls, Fine Rolls, Inquisitions, Perambulations of Forests, Subsidy Rolls, and Assessments, &c., &c.
- (c) History of Parishes and of Manors, and of Manorial Customs and Tenures, illustrated by Copies of, or reference to, original grants.
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- (e) Notices of British and Roman Remains, and Roads and Buildings, and the Antiquities generally of the District.
- (f) Autograph Letters and other Documents relating to the Civil War.
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- (h) Correspondence, in which enquiries may be made and answered, on any of the above subjects, and miscellaneous information, including corrections of errors.

III.—The general affairs of the Society shall be managed by a Council of ten, of whom five shall be trustees of the William Salt Library, and nominated by them, from time to time, and five shall be elected at an Annual Meeting of the Subscribers. The Council shall be empowered to delegate, if they see fit, the selection of the papers to be printed to an Editorial Committee. Of the Council, three shall be a quorum, and in case of equality of votes, their Chairman shall have a casting vote.

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V.—The Subscription shall be One Guinea annually, to be paid in advance upon the first of January in each year, and such annual payment shall entitle each Subscriber to the volume issued for the year of such subscription. Any Subscriber shall be permitted to withdraw from the Society by giving notice of his intention three months before the termination of any year of Subscription.

N.B.—To save trouble, it is recommended that the Members of the Society pay their subscriptions to the Society's bankers by revocable order upon their own bankers, a printed form for which may be obtained from the Assistant Secretary.

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Corrected to 1st September, 1917.

The year in which Members joined the Society is prefixed. Where marked thus * the year is that in which the predecessors in title of the present Member joined.

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 1910 ALCOCK, S. KING, M.D., Portland House, Burslem.
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 1910 ANGLESEY, The Most Noble the Marquess of, Beaudesert, Staffs.
 1899 ANSON, Col. The Hon. G. A., M.V.O., D.L., Stafford.
 1909 ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON, SOCIETY OF, Burlington House, Piccadilly, W. 1.
 1901 ARGLES, T. A., Eversley, Milnthorpe.
 1910 ATTWOOD, T. A. C., M.A., F.S.A., Sion Hill House, Wolverley, nr. Kidderminster.
- 1898 BAGOT, The Rt. Hon. Lord, Blithfield, Rugeley.
 1912 BARNES, The Rev. THOS., M.A., Hilderstone Vicarage, Stone.
 1911 BECK, F. T., Wulfrun Chambers, Darlington Street, Wolverhampton.
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 1879 BERESFORD, The Rev. WILLIAM, St. Luke's Vicarage, Leek.
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 1881 BIRMINGHAM PUBLIC LIBRARIES, Reference Department.
 1913 BOSTOCK, H. I., J.P., Shawms, Radford Bank, Stafford.
 1879 BOSTON (Massachusetts, U.S.A.) PUBLIC LIBRARY. (*Parcels through Mr. Bernard Quaritch, 11, Grafton Street, New Bond Street, London, W.*)
- 1913 BOUCHER, ARTHUR S., J.P., C.A., Sharpcliffe Hall, Ipstones, Staffs.
 1913 BOULTON, FRANCIS A., J.P., C.A., Moor Court, Oakamoor, Staffs.
 1879* BOURNE, J., J.P., Hilderstone Hall, Stone, Stafford.
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 1911 BURTON-ON-TRENT FREE LIBRARY.
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- 1879 CADDICK, EDWARD, Wellington Road, Edgbaston, Birmingham.
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 1892 CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY (F. J. H. JENKINSON, Librarian).
 1913 CANBY, T., 33, Arboretum Road, Walsall.
 1910 CARTER, GEO. W., Eccleshall Castle, Staffs.
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 1912 CONSTITUTIONAL CLUB LIBRARY, Northumberland Avenue, W.C.
 1910 COTTERELL, HOWARD H., F.R.Hist.S., F.R.S.A.I., F.S.G., The Hermitage,
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- 1908 CRALLAN, Miss A. ARDEN, Helston House, Dalby Square, Margate.
 1879* CREWE, The Most Noble the Marquess of, K.G., G.C.V.O., Crewe Hall,
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- 1896 GIBBONS, W. P., J.P., Rinton House, Dudley.
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 1913 GROUT, Dr. J., Carlton House, 59, Tettenhall Road, Wolverhampton.
 1911 GUILDHALL LIBRARY, London, E.C. 2 (B. KETTLE, Librarian).
 1913 GUPPY, H., M.A., The John Rylands Library, Manchester.
 1902 HAMBLETON, A. J., C.C., Butterton, Leek.
 1906 HANDSWORTH PUBLIC LIBRARY, Soho Road, Handsworth, Birmingham.
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- 1891 HUTCHINSON, Rev. SANDFORD WILLIAM, M.A., Blurton Vicarage, Stoke-on-Trent.
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- 1913 JOY, EUSTACE, M.A., The White Lodge, Milford, Stafford.
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- 1881 MANCHESTER FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY (C. W. SUTTON, Chief Librarian).
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- 1911 MEYNELL, FRANCIS H. L., J.P., Hoar Cross, Burton-on-Trent.
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- 1910 VICTORIA, PUBLIC LIBRARY OF, Melbourne, Australia. (*Parcels care of
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- 1905 WASHINGTON, D.C., U.S.A., LIBRARY OF CONGRESS. (*Care of American
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 1879 WEDGWOOD INSTITUTE (J. WILCOX EDGE, C.A., J.P., Curator), Burslem.
 1902 WEDGWOOD, Com. JOSIAH C., D.S.O., M.P., D.L., Moddershall Oaks,
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 1903 WILSON, Rev. R. A., M.A., Witley Rectory, Worcester.
 1911 WISCONSIN STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY (*per Messrs. G. E. Steckert and Co.*
2, Star Yard, Carey Street, Chancery Lane, W.C.).
 1913 WOLFERSTAN, Lieut.-Col. E. S. P., J.P., Statfold, Tamworth.
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 Mem.).
 1901 WROTTESELEY, Rev. F. J., M.A., 148, Queen's Road, Bayswater, W. 2.

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The William Salt Archæological Society.

ANNUAL MEETING, NOVEMBER 6TH, 1915.

THE 37th Annual Meeting of members and friends of the William Salt Archæological Society was held in the William Salt Library, Stafford, on November 6th, 1915. The Earl of Dartmouth presided, and there were also present Lord Hatherton, C.M.G.; Lord Charnwood; Commander J. C. Wedgwood, D.S.O., M.P. (Hon. Secretary); the Revds. E. R. O. Bridgeman, S. W. Hutchinson, F. Parker, and G. T. Royds; the Mayor of Stafford (Mr. H. J. Bostock); and Messrs. P. W. L. Adams, F. T. Beck, W. Brown, J. T. Homer, Eustace Joy, W. N. Landor, John Parkes, W. Morton Philips, A. Scrivener, W. Smith, C. H. Wright, and J. W. Bradley (Assistant Secretary).

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE'S REPORT.

The Editorial Committee report that the volume for 1914 of the Staffordshire Collections was issued to the Subscribers in May last. The volume for 1915 is in the press, and will be issued shortly. Its contents, which have been contributed by Mr. W. N. Landor, deal with the Staffordshire incumbents and various ecclesiastical and parochial records in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and include a map of Staffordshire showing the boundaries of the parishes in the time of Elizabeth, and the position of the churches, chapels, etc. The Committee recommend that 325 copies be ordered.

The volume of 1916 will contain "A Critique of the Burton Abbey

Survey," by C. G. O. Bridgeman; "Notes on the Bagot Family" (supplementary to Vol. XI., New Series), by the Rev. D. S. Murray; "Extracts and Abstracts from the Early Chancery Proceedings down to 1550," by Lieut.-Commander J. C. Wedgwood.

Circulars indicating the contents of the 1915 volume and the general work of the Society have been sent to members and to the clergy of the diocese, with the result that twenty-five additional copies have been ordered by members, and twelve new members enrolled.

During the past year five members have died, seven members have withdrawn, and twelve new members have joined, giving a total at the end of the year of 235 Subscribers.

The Committee are anxious that the heroic achievements of Staffordshire men and of Staffordshire regiments in the present war shall be adequately recorded. They therefore recommend that the Secretary be requested to communicate with the proper officers of the Staffordshire regiments with a view to obtaining authentic accounts, where possible, from eye-witnesses.

The Committee desire to place on record their deep regret and sense of loss in the death of Mr. W. H. Duignan, of Walsall, for many years Honorary Solicitor of the Society, a most accomplished antiquary and archæologist, and a very learned philologist. His valuable and instructive work, *Notes on Staffordshire Place-Names*, has contributed materially to the identification of the actual sites of battles and other historic incidents recorded in ancient chronicles, and to the elucidation of many archaic terms and phrases.

The adoption of the Report was moved by Commander WEDGWOOD, who said it was very unfortunate that, owing to the war, the production of the 1914 and 1915 volumes was much later than usual. He expressed his personal regret at the death of his friend, Mr. Duignan, and of Mr. Holland, who was a regular attendant at their meetings. He himself had an admirable colleague in Mr. Homer, who was temporarily discharging the duties of Honorary Secretary. The fact that they had secured twelve new members to replace those who had died or withdrawn spoke volumes for the energy with which Mr. Homer conducted the affairs of the Society.

Mr. HOMER seconded the motion, and expressed the hope that, in view of the great interest of the 1915 volume to the clergy of the

diocese, an extra copy would be purchased by each member and presented to their parish church, to be kept with the parish registers. He trusted that anyone coming across letters relating to Staffordshire men and Staffordshire regiments at the Front would send them to the Secretary at the Salt Library, where they would be taken care of and made use of at the close of the war.

The CHAIRMAN said they would all wish to see full recognition made of the Staffordshire regiments, which, whether they were the old regiments of the Line, the Territorial Battalions, or the new forces, had all suffered heavily. They were glad to know, however, that in every case they had maintained the old traditions and the credit of the county.

The Report was adopted.

The Accounts, which were presented by Mr. HERBERT OWEN, showed a balance at the bank of £223 5s. 1d., and there were outstanding subscriptions amounting to £77 14s.

The Balance Sheet was passed on the motion of Mr. HOMER, seconded by Lord HATHERTON.

On the recommendation of the Council, Mr. Eustace Joy was appointed Honorary Solicitor to the Society, in the place of the late Mr. W. H. Duignan.

The following were added to the Editorial Committee.—The Rev. E. R. O. Bridgeman, and Messrs. W. N. Landor and J. T. Homer.

Mr. LANDOR said it was hoped that the 1916 volume of the Society would contain a few more valuable reviews of the Calendars and Rolls Series publications, which Commander Wedgwood had promised to contribute, and which he was sure they would all very much appreciate.

On the motion of Lord HATHERTON, seconded by Commander WEDGWOOD, a vote of condolence was passed with the relatives of the late Mr. W. H. Duignan, Mr. W. R. Holland, and Colonel F. D. Mort,

Lord HATHERTON proposed a vote of thanks to Lord Dartmouth for presiding, and to the other officers of the Society. This was seconded by the Rev. E. R. O. BRIDGEMAN.

Mr. HOMER, in supporting, expressed the gratification of the members at the recovery of Commander Wedgwood from a dangerous wound sustained whilst serving at the Dardanelles, and said they were all very glad to see him in renewed health and strength, and yearning for a further opportunity of distinguishing himself.

The William Salt Archaeological Society.

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS FOR YEAR ENDING SEPTEMBER 30TH, 1915.

<i>Receipts.</i>		<i>Payments.</i>	
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
To Balance at Bank, Sept. 30th, 1914	188 6 10	Nov. 10. Cheque-book...	0 5 0
" Subscriptions, 1914	...	" 18. Smith & Son, printing	2 6 9
" " 1915	...	" 20. Bradley, J. W., Hon Sec.	7 10 0
" " for previous years ...	...	Stamps, etc. ...	1 2 5
" Sales ...	159 12 0	" 25. Dean, J. W., Hon. Ass.	8 12 5
" Extra copies of 1915 volume ...	5 16 5	Sec. ...	7 10 0
	3 2 6	Stamps, etc. ...	2 4 0
	...	Dec. 7. Cheque-book printing	9 14 0
	...	" 30. Charges ...	0 2 0
	...	June 17. Earl, W. H., North Staffs. Field Club	0 5 0
	...	" 21. Harrison & Sons, 1914 volumes	111 17 6
	...	" 30. Charges ...	0 5 0
	...	Balance in Bank	183 12 8
	...		223 5 1
	...		<u>£356 17 9</u>

Examined and found correct.

(Signed) **WILLIAM MORGAN,**

Hon. Auditor,

November 5th, 1915.

CONTENTS OF PREVIOUS VOLUMES.

- Vol. I, 1880.—Pipe Rolls of 1130 and 1155-89; Latin Text and Notes, Liber Niger of 1166, *Wrottesley*, and *Eyton*. The Register of Bishop Roger de Norbury, 1322-58, *Bishop Hobhouse*. History of Blymhill, *The Hon. and Rev. Geo. Bridgeman*.
- Vol. II, 1881.—Pipe Rolls of 1189-1216; Latin Text and Notes, *Eyton*. Staffordshire Cartulary, *Eyton*. Part II, Obligatory Knighthood, *temp.* Charles I., *Grazebrook*. Arms taken in the Visitation of 1663-4, *Grazebrook*. History of Blymhill, *Bridgeman*.
- Vol. III, 1882.—Plea Rolls of 1189-1216, *Wrottesley*. Final Concords of 1189-1216, *Wrottesley*. Staffordshire Cartulary, *Wrottesley*. Part II. The Visitation of 1583, *Grazebrook*. The Wasteney Family, *Parker*.
- Vol. IV, 1883.—Plea Rolls of 1216-72, *Wrottesley*. Final Concords of 1216-72, *Wrottesley*. Ronton Priory Cartulary, *Wrottesley*. Part II, History of Church Eaton, *Bridgeman*.
- Vol. V, Part I, 1884.—Burton Abbey Cartulary, *Wrottesley*. Hundred Rolls, 1255 and 1275, *Wrottesley*. Pleas of the Forest, 1262, 1271, 1286, 1300, *Wrottesley*.
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- Vol. VI, Part II, 1885.—Capitular Muniments at Lichfield, *Dr. C. J. Cox*.
- Vol. VII, 1886.—Plea Rolls, 1294-1307, *Wrottesley*. Subsidy Roll of 1327, *Wrottesley*. Part II, History of the Swynnerton Family, *Bridgeman*.
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- Vol. X, 1889. *Coram Rege* Rolls and Pleas of the Crown, 1307-27, *Wrottesley*. Subsidy Roll of 1332, *Wrottesley*. Younger branches of Sutton of Dudley, *Grazebrook*.
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- Vol. I, N.S., 1898.—The Gresleys of Drakelowe, *Falconer Madan*.
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- Vol. V, N.S., 1902.—The Giffard Family, *Wrottesley*. Muster Roll, 1539 (Cuttlestone and Pirehill Hundreds).
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- Vol. VI, N.S., Part II, 1903.—History of the Wrottesley Family, *Wrottesley*.
- Vol. VII, N.S., 1904.—History of the family of Okeover, *Wrottesley*. Final Concords, 1618-22. Early Chancery Proceedings, 1377-1509, *Wrottesley*.
- Vol. VIII, N.S., 1905.—Register of Bishop Roger de Stretton, 1360-85, *Rev. R. A. Wilson*.
- Vol. IX, N.S., 1906.—Chancery Proceedings, 1560-70. Sir James de Audley, K.G., and the Audley Family, *Wedgwood*. The Burton Abbey Surveys, *J. Horace Round*. Cartulary of Dieulacress Abbey, *Wrottesley*.
- Vol. X, N.S., Part I, 1907.—The Tenure of Draycot-under-Needwood, *J. Horace Round*. Final Concords, 1622-5. Star Chamber Proceedings, Henry VII. and Henry VIII. Forest Tenures of Staffordshire, *Wrottesley*. Alrewas Court Rolls, 1259-61, *W. N. Landor*.
- Vol. X, N.S., Part II, 1907.—Lichfield Bishopric Register, 1358-85, *Rev. R. A. Wilson*.
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GOVERNMENT OF THE STATE OF TEXAS

THE STATE OF TEXAS, COUNTY OF ...

BEFORE ME, the undersigned authority, on this ... day of ... 19... A.D. 19... personally appeared ... known to me to be the person whose name is subscribed to the foregoing instrument, and acknowledged to me that he executed the same for the purposes and consideration therein expressed.

Given under my hand and seal of office this ... day of ... 19... A.D. 19...

Notary Public in and for the State of Texas

14

WULFRIC SPOT'S WILL.

THE importance for antiquarian purposes of the Will of Wulfric Spot, the founder of Burton Abbey, lies in the fact that we have here an unquestionably authentic document, dated more than eighty years before the great Domesday Survey, which deals with lands in various parts of England including the district between the Ribble and the Mersey in Lancashire, the adjoining district of Wirral in Cheshire, and a large number of manors in Derbyshire and Staffordshire and the adjacent parts of Yorkshire, Leicestershire and Warwickshire, and also a few places in Gloucestershire and Shropshire and (possibly) Worcestershire, Nottinghamshire and Lincolnshire as well. Frequent references have been made to this will by county historians and others, but so far as I am aware there is no published work in which the will taken as a whole has been discussed at any length. Hunter indeed in his *History of South Yorkshire* (i. 307) refers to an "elaborate dissertation" on the will by S. P. Wolferstan, the learned Staffordshire antiquary who died nearly a century ago, but I have not succeeded in finding any published work by him on the subject except two letters in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1816 (vol. 86, pt. i, pp. 18, 133) signed "S. P. W.," and I am disposed to think that, if it was not to these letters, it must have been to the valuable MS. notes made by Wolferstan in his own copy of Shaw's *Staffordshire*, now at the British Museum, that Hunter's reference is made. Having had occasion lately to look up this subject in connection with a paper on the Burton Abbey Surveys, which was to have been printed in this volume of the William Salt Society's *Staffordshire Historical Collections*,¹ I have been asked by the Honorary Secretary to supplement that paper by some critical notes on;

¹ This paper, which left the writer's hands more than a year ago, has unfortunately been mislaid and has not yet been found, so that its printing has had to be deferred for the present.

with a transcript of, Wulfric Spot's will; and I do so with pleasure, though with some diffidence arising from the fact that I am not myself an Anglo-Saxon scholar nor even (except to a very limited extent and, I fear, in rather a superficial way) a student of Anglo-Saxon history; nor have I that wide local knowledge of the counties concerned which is almost essential for anyone who attempts to identify, or even to choose between rival identifications of, places scattered over so extended an area.

Before discussing the Will itself it would perhaps be convenient to deal first with the personality and parentage of the testator. Not very much is really known about Wulfric Spot. There is a short article under his name in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, at the end of which most of the authorities are enumerated, but the best account of him that I have seen is in a Note to Freeman's *Norman Conquest* (3rd ed., i. 671, Note oo). For authoritative information about the founder of an abbey one naturally turns to the monastic records, and here the main source of information besides the will itself must, I think, always be (1) the brief statement contained in the *Annales Monasterii Burtonensis*, now at the British Museum (MS. Cotton., Vesp. E. III, fo. 1), from which extracts are given in Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum* (ed. 1655, i. 265; ed. 1817, iii. 43), and which are printed in full among the *Annales Monastici* (Rolls Ser. No. 36, i. 183; ii. 171), and (2) the more detailed account given in the *Historia Fundatoris*, which is extracted from the *Chronica Abbatum* and printed in the *Monasticon* from the original then (and presumably still) at Beaudesert.

In the *Annales* he is called "quidam nobilis nomine Wulfricus cognomento Spot;" in the *Chronica* he is described as "illustris et praepotens consul ac comes Merciorum dominus Wulfricus Spott regali propinquus prosapiae." Both the *Annales* and the *Chronica* state that he founded Burton Abbey in 1004, which is certainly the year of king Æthelred's confirmatory charter, though the date of this foundation assigned by Matthew of Paris is 1003 (Rolls Ser., No. 57, i. 480) and that by John Brompton 1002 (Twysden's *Decem Scriptores*, col. 885).¹

¹ The building appears to have been completed before the date of the will; it may have been begun a year or two earlier.

From the *Chronica* we get the further information that his wife Elswitha (Ealhswith) was buried in the cloister of the monastery under a stone arch near the door of the lower church [nave?], and that he himself was mortally wounded six years later fighting against the Danes at the battle near Ipswich and, dying on Monday, xi Kal. Nov. [22 Oct.] 1010, was buried in the cloister of the monastery under a stone arch near the door of the upper church [chancel?], his brother duke Alwin and earl Morcar and his other relatives and friends "largas terrarum tribuentibus possessiones" (which I understand to refer to the fruits of the soil rather than the land itself). The writer of an account so precise and circumstantial as this must surely have had some authority for his statements, and it seems to me that, unless they can be shewn to be unwarranted or extremely improbable, they ought to be accepted. In point of fact we have corroboration for the statement about the manner of his death in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle itself (*sub anno* 1010), from which we learn that this battle near Ipswich was fought between the East Anglians under Ulfcytel and the Danes under Thurkill on the day "Prima Ascensio Domini" [18 May], and that among the notable men who fell in that battle was *Wulfric the son of Leofwine*; and this has been generally accepted as referring to Wulfric Spot.¹ Florence of Worcester (ed. Thorpe, i. 162) gives the date of the battle as "tertio Nonas Maii" [5 May] 1010, and says that it was fought at Ringmere near Ipswich. A certain amount of suspicion has, I think, been entertained unnecessarily as to the accuracy of some of the statements in the *Chronica Abbatum* owing to what I cannot but think is a misapprehension of the meaning of the title "comes Merciorum" as there used.² Shaw in his *History of Staffordshire* (i. 2) propounded the theory that Wulfric Spot might perhaps be identical with "Wulfric Ulfric or Alfric, Earl

¹ For a different view, however, see Sir James Ramsay's *Foundations of England*, i, 357, 364, and the Appendix by Mr. W. H. Stevenson to an article by the late Mr. W. H. Duignan and himself on Anglo-Saxon charters relating to Shropshire, in the *Shropshire Archaeological Society's Transactions*, 4th ser., i. 20-22, as to which cf. my Supplementary Note at the end of this paper.

² In the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of 27 Henry VIII (1536) Wulfric Spot is also styled "comes Marcie." (See vol. iii, p. 146.)

of Mercia," the ealdorman who earned an evil notoriety in the reign of king Æthelred for incompetence if not for treachery in the battles against the Danes: but this theory is open to several objections, and it has very properly been generally rejected. In the first place it involves a confusion between two contemporary persons of the name of Ælfric, who were both ealdormen in Æthelred's reign, the one being Ælfric, the son of Ælfhere, who succeeded his father as ealdorman of Mercia in 983 and was banished in 985, and the other being the Ælfric who was made ealdorman of Hampshire or Central Wessex (*Wentanienses provinciae*) in 982 or 983, and apparently continued as such until he was slain in the great battle of Assandun in 1016, this latter Ælfric being the person accused by the chroniclers of treachery in the earlier battles against the Danes in 992 and 1003 (see Freeman's *Norman Conquest*, vol. i, App., Note CC; Green's *Conquest of England*, c. viii, pp. 372, 373, note; Napier and Stevenson's *Early Charters*, pp. 120, 122¹). There are at least two charters in 983 and three in 984 which were attested by both these Ælfrics as "dux" or ealdorman (Kemble's *Codex Diplomaticus*, Nos. 641, 1279, 1280, 1281 and 1282). In the second place the names Wulfric and Ælfric, though liable to be confused with one another, are not the same, and they are in fact kept distinct throughout Wulfric Spot's will. It is obvious that Wulfric, if the son of Leofwine who fell at the battle of Ipswich in 1010, could not be identical either with Ælfric of Mercia, who was the son of Ælfhere, or with Ælfric of Hampshire, if the latter lived till 1016. Sir Francis Palgrave in his *Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth* (II. ccxciii) and his *History of the Anglo-Saxons* (p. 295) has suggested—with great force as it seems to me—that Wulfric Spot was ruler of the dominions afterwards known as the earldom of Lancaster, on the ground that he disposes by his will of the lands between the Ribble and the Mersey, and accordingly he enters his name

¹ Sir James Ramsay (*Foundations of England*, i. 339341), though he agrees in identifying the Ælfric mentioned in connection with the payment of Danegeld in 991 and the battle of 1003 as the Hampshire ealdorman, nevertheless thinks that the traitor of 992 was the Mercian Ælfric. Dr. Hodgkin (*Political History of England*, i. 383) agrees with Freeman and Green.

in the list of Mercian rulers as earl of Lancaster, though he takes care to point out that the actual title is purely conjectural. The writer of the article in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, who apparently understands this as an assertion that Wulfric was *ealdorman* of Lancaster, rejects it as being based on several misconceptions; but he omits to state what the misconceptions are, and he merely refers to Freeman's note as the authority for his criticism. I do not myself so understand either Palgrave or Freeman. Palgrave does not mention the word "ealdorman" in describing Wulfric; and Freeman, while he finds no evidence that Wulfric was ever known by that title, records Palgrave's view on this point without further comment, except as to the actual territorial name, and then proceeds to criticize quite a different suggestion of Palgrave's, viz., as to Wulfric's parentage.

The lands between the Ribble and the Mersey appear to have formed part of Northumbria from the time of the victories by Æthelfrith, king of the Northumbrians, over the Britons, which culminated in the battle of Chester in 613 (Green's *Making of England*, pp. 240-245), and they are generally thought to have remained part of Northumbria until Manchester was taken by Eadward the Elder in 923 (Green's *Conquest of England*, p. 214), when they are supposed to have been united to Mercia and included in the great Mercian diocese of Lichfield (see Article by Professor Tait in the *Victoria County History of Lancashire*, ii. 178-9); though Whitaker advances strong arguments for thinking that the connection with Mercia and the diocese of Lichfield was of a much earlier date (*History of Whalley*, 4th ed. by J. G. Nichols, i. 51-3, 65-7). However this may be, after the conquests by Eadward and his son Æthelstan this district seems to have been usually retained by the king as a separate unit, and would doubtless be placed under its own special governor, probably a king's high reeve. It comprised a large area of land measuring about 1000 square miles, in fact the whole of Lancashire south of the Ribble, which was surveyed in Domesday under its own separate heading immediately after Cheshire; and it was then divided into six hundreds, viz., Derby (*i.e.* West Derby), Newtone (Newton in Makerfield), Walintune (Warrington), Blacheburne (Blackburn), Salford, and Lailand (Leyland), of which Newton and Warrington have since

been incorporated in the hundred of West Derby.¹ The hundred of Wirral in Cheshire, which was included in the same gift under the will, comprised the adjoining district between the Mersey and the Dee, now a promontory running back nearly as far as Chester (which was then included within it²), and supposed to have been in remote ages an island. It appears to me to be fairly clear that it was over these two north-western districts at any rate that Wulfric Spot was ruler and lord³; and, further, that as such he was not inaccurately described in the *Chronica Abbatum* as "consul ac comes Merciorum," whatever his actual title may have been. He is called "consul" by Henry of Huntingdon in his account of the battle of Ipswich (Rolls Ser., No. 74, p. 178), though in the confirmatory charter by king Æthelred to Burton Abbey he is styled simply "nobilis progeniei minister." There is a charter, of the year 1006, given both in Latin and in Anglo-Saxon in Kemble's *Codex Diplomaticus* (iii. 346-351, No. 715), which shews by the witnesses' names and descriptions that the proper Latin equivalent for ealdorman was "dux," a king's thegn being rendered "minister."

The title "comes" was originally a title of honour applied to the Court attendants and councillors of the Emperors and of the Kings of France, as distinguished from "dux," the title used for

¹ If Wulfric was in fact known by any territorial title, it is more likely that he would be styled earl of Derby (West Derby) or Legaceaster (Chester) than of Lancaster, which lies outside the districts mentioned in his will. The county of Lancaster was formed some two centuries later by combining the lands between the Ribble and the Mersey with the more northern districts of Furness and Cartmell, Lonsdale and Amunderness, which at the time of Domesday were surveyed under Yorkshire (Stubbs's *Const. Hist.*, i. 129). Leofric, the Mercian earl of the time of the Confessor, was known as earl of Chester (Henry of Huntingdon, *sub anno* 1057); he is sometimes called earl of Leicester, but I suspect that this is owing to a confusion between the two places then known as Legaceaster (see my Note B, *inf.*).
² *Ang.-Sax. Chron. sub anno* 894.

³ There is within the district between the Ribble and the Mersey a place called Spotland, a township in the old parish of Rochdale, watered by the Spodden stream; there is also a hamlet called Spott or Spott Grange within the township of Cotwalton in Staffordshire, another of the places mentioned in Wulfric's will. Would it be too fanciful to trace in both or either of these names some connection with the minister "nomine Wulfricus cognomento Spot"?

a governor of a province. The same person often held both positions, and in such cases it was not unusual for the style "comes" of the particular province to be adopted (Selden's *Titles of Honor*, Part II, cap. i, sec. 8, pp. 295-301; cf. cap. iii, secs. 5, 9 and 10, pp. 493, 509, 512). This title, although it seems to have been commonly used in Northumbria and the Danelagh in the tenth century, did not come into general use over the whole of England until the early part of the eleventh century, when after the accession of king Cnut the Anglo-Saxon title of "ealdorman" came to be gradually superseded by that of "earl" (from the Danish word "jarl"), and its Latin equivalent "dux" by "comes." After the Norman Conquest the word "ealdorman" dropped out of use altogether in this sense, and it only survived as the title of a civic dignitary until quite recently, when it was revived in connection with county councils. It may be that in the reign of king Æthelred the title "comes" might without any impropriety have been applied to those principal king's thegns, who, though not rulers of whole provinces such as Mercia, East Anglia, or the East or West Saxons, yet held authority over districts of considerable size and importance such as shires or subdivisions of the great Mercian province, especially those which had once formed part of the Danelagh; and, if so, it may have been in some such sense as this that Wulfric is called "comes Merciorum." But I am disposed to think that the word applicable to such a position would rather be "consul" or "prefectus." And the conclusion at which I have myself after some fluctuation of opinion arrived is that, although several instances are to be found of the same person being described sometimes as "dux" or ealdorman and sometimes as "comes" or earl, there was a real distinction between the two, one being a title of office and the other a title of honour, the former denoting the authority exercised by him as governor of the province or shire, while the latter pointed to the position which he held as a comrade and councillor of the king, usually an hereditary nobleman and territorial magnate. Thus the word "comes" would be very nearly the Latin equivalent for the Anglo-Saxon "eorl," i.e. a person of noble birth (or still more literally perhaps for the Anglo-Saxon "gesith," i.e. a companion or leader) and "comes Merciorum"

would simply mean a Mercian nobleman.¹ I may add that "Wulfric minister" (whether the same or some other person of that name) appears as a witness to numerous charters in the reign of Æthelred between the years 980 and 1002 (*Cod. Dip.*, iii. 174-326).

Further light ought, one would think, to be thrown on the identity of Wulfric Spot by the mention in the *Chronica Abbatum* of "dux Alwinus" as his brother, but I believe that this Alwin has never been identified. The Latin form of the name might stand for either Ælfwine or Æthelwine, but, so far as I am aware, the only ealdormen of either of these names in Æthelred's reign known to history are Æthelwine, the venerated ealdorman of the East Anglians who died in 992, and an Ælfwine, who attested two royal charters in 982 and 984 (*Cod. Dip.*, Nos. 633, 641), but whose ealdormanry I am unable to identify. There is, however, one other bit of evidence as to Wulfric's parentage, which I have not seen noticed anywhere,² but which seems to me of some importance and well worth notice. By his will he gives to archbishop Ælfric his land at Dumeltan, *i.e.* Dumbleton in Gloucestershire, and there can be little doubt that this was the two and a half manses at Dumbeltun which, after forfeiture by one Æthelsige, were confirmed to Wulfric by a charter from king Æthelred in 995 (*Cod. Dip.*, No. 692). In that charter he is described as "cuidam dilectissimo mihi ministro cui parentelae nobilitas Wlfric indidit nomen," and in the Anglo-Saxon postscript at the end of the deed he is referred to as "Wulfric Wulfrune sunu."³ The mention here of his mother's name instead of his father's, together with the hint in the body of the charter that the parent after whom he was called was of noble birth, suggests that his father was then dead and that his mother

¹ Hallam's *Middle Ages*, ed. 1834, ii. 383 and 413, notes; Palgrave's *English Commonwealth*, II. ccclii; Stubbs's *Const. Hist.*, i. 125, 126, 166-178; Earle's Introduction to his *Handbook to the Land Charters*, pp. lxx *et seq.* See also my Note A at the end of this paper.

² See, however, my Supplementary Note at the end of this paper.

³ The name of "Wulfric Wulfrune sunu" occurs also among the witnesses to another charter of about this date (Thorpe's *Dip. Ang.*, pp. 539-541).

was a person of distinction. Now there was at that time a high-born lady of the name of Wulfrun, who in the previous year (994¹) had with the sanction of the king and archbishop Sigeric of Canterbury made a generous benefaction to, if not actually founded, a monastery at Wolverhampton, which place derives the first half of its name from her (see Dugdale's *Mon. Ang.*, ed. 1655, i. 988; ed. 1817, vi. 1443); and in the confirmation of this benefaction of hers by archbishop Sigeric she is called "nobilis matrona et religiosa fœmina Wlfrune." It was doubtless this same lady who in 985 received a grant from king Æthelred of nine *cassati* in Heantune (Wolverhampton) and one manse in Treselcote (*Cod. Dip.*, No. 650). There was also some 40 years earlier a lady of this name, who appears to have lived at Tamworth, the old seat of the Mercian kings, for she was taken prisoner there when that place was pillaged by the Danes under their Northumbrian king Anlaf or Olaf, son of Sihtric, in the year 943; and she must have been a person of some importance, for her name is the only one mentioned (*Ang.-Sax. Chron.*, Rolls Ser., No. 23, i. 211, ii. 89, from MS. Cotton. Tiber. B. iv. at the British Museum, the MS. usually known as D or the Worcester Chronicle, which supplies additional particulars concerning Mercian and Northumbrian affairs not given in the other MSS.). Both Wolverhampton and (a part of) Tamworth are in the same county and in the same hundred as Burton, though the former lies at some distance from it and on the other side of the Watling Street; Tamworth indeed is mentioned in Wulfric's will, and mentioned in such a way as to imply that the testator was either its owner or (if not actually owner) at any rate its overlord. It was at Tamworth that Offa, king of the Mercians, and his successors had their royal abode from which many of their early charters were dated, and where a witenagemot was assembled in 840 (Birch's *Cartularium Saxonicum*, No. 430); and this castle after being laid waste by the Danes was restored in 913 or 914 by Æthelflæd, daughter of king Ælfred and sister of king Eadward the Elder, the celebrated Lady of the Mercians. (*Ang.-Sax. Chronicle, sub annis; cf. Dugdale's*

¹ As to the date of this charter, see my Note A, *inf.*

Warwickshire, pp. 1130-1; Shaw's *Staffordshire*, i. 415.) My suggestion is that Wulfrun the Tamworth captive in 943, Wulfrun the mother of Wulfric Spot, and (possibly) Wulfrun the benefactress of Wolverhampton in 994¹ were all one and the same person; and further that she was in all probability descended through Æthelflæd the Lady of the Mercians from king Ælfred, which would account for the description of Wulfric in the *Chronica Abbatum* of Burton as "regali propinquus prosapiae."² Such an inference is surely a legitimate one, and, if well founded, it has a special interest for Staffordshire antiquaries. It is more than likely that Wulfrun or one of her forbears may have been also the founder of the Tamworth convent mentioned in Wulfric's will, the early history of which is involved in some obscurity.

Let us now turn to the Will itself. This document, which is entered in the Burton Abbey Register, and of which a very early (probably eleventh century) copy was in Shaw's time and again as late as 1884, and I presume still is, at Beaudesert, has been transcribed several times. (1) Dugdale (*c.* 1650) in the *Monasticon* (ed. 1655, i. 265; ed. 1817, iii. 37) has given it in full with the old Anglo-Saxon lettering, in which among the small letters the "r," the "s," the soft and the hard "th," and the "w" are perhaps those most unfamiliar to the modern eye: he has also added a Latin version apparently of his own and a list of the names of places mentioned with the modern equivalents of such of them as he had identified. (2) Shaw (1798) in his *History of Staffordshire* (i. 2) has given an epitome of parts of the will, especially the parts which concerned Burton Abbey, identifying several of the places mentioned. (3) John Nichols (1811) in his *History of Leicestershire* (iv. 426) has supplied a modern English version of the will in full. (4) S. P. Wolferstan (*ante* 1820) in his copy of Shaw's *Staffordshire*, now at the British Museum, has made a few corrections in Shaw's account and supplied some of Shaw's omissions. (5) J. M. Kemble

¹ There is, however, a difficulty, which I have pointed out later, about the identification with the Wolverhampton benefactress. See my Note B at the end of this paper.

² As to the probable relationship to the royal stock, see my Note B, *inf.*

(1848) in the *Codex Diplomaticus* (vi. 147, No. 1298) has given the will in full in the original language but in modern lettering except for the two forms of "th" which he retains, and with the abbreviated forms of "and" and "thæt" extended. (6) Benjamin Thorpe (1865) in his *Diplomatarium Anglicum Ævi Saxonici* (p. 543) has given it in similar lettering, except that the abbreviated forms of "and" and "thæt" are retained and indeed used more systematically than in the *Monasticon*: he has also added an English translation with the names of all the places which he had identified given as they are now spelt, the two versions being conveniently arranged in parallel columns. Finally (7) it has again been printed without any abbreviations by Professor Earle (1888) in his *Handbook to the Land Charters* (p. 218).

All these versions of the will (except possibly those of Shaw and Wolferstan) profess to be taken directly or indirectly from the Burton Abbey Register, and they do not differ from one another in any material particulars. But the earlier copy of the will at Beaudesert, which is written on the same sheet of parchment as and at the foot of the confirmatory charter by king Æthelred, and which was thought by Shaw to be the original will, has also been recently published, having been reproduced by photozincographical process under the direction of Colonel R. H. Stotherd, R.E., Director General of the Ordnance Survey, with a translation by Mr. W. Basevi Sanders, Assistant Keeper of H.M. Records; and this will be found among the *Facsimiles of Anglo-Saxon MSS.* (Ordnance Survey), Part III (1884), at the British Museum. In editing the will yet once more for the William Salt Society's *Staffordshire Historical Collections* I have after some hesitation thought it best to follow this last version, both as representing the earliest known and therefore the most trustworthy copy of the will and also because it is not so generally accessible as the other printed editions. I have however used modern lettering throughout without attempting to distinguish between the soft and the hard "th," and I have extended the abbreviations, of which there are very few in the MS., except that the words "and" and "thæt" are almost invariably indicated there by signs and there is also an occasional abbreviation of a final "m" or "n." I have also supplied within square brackets from the other printed editions

such letters as were illegible in the sheet of parchment and the facsimile owing to decay at the places where the document had been folded. In giving an English translation I have also followed more or less closely Mr. Sanders's translation, which leaves little if anything to be desired. The document is as follows:—

Original.

✠ IN NOMINE DÑI . Her swutelath Wulfric his hleofan hlaforde his cwyde and eallon his freon[do]n. Thæt is thæt ic geann minon hlaforde twahund mancessa goldes . and twa seolfor hilted sweord . and feower hors . twa gesadelode . and twa ungesadelode . and the wæpna the thæрто gebyriath . and ic geann ælcum bisce[op]e .v. mances goldes . and tham twam arcebisceopan heora ægthran tyn mances goldes . and ic geann into ælc[on] munuc regole .i. pund . and ælcon abbode and ælcon abbatissan .v. manxes goldes . and ic geann Ælfrice arcebis[ceope th]æs landes æt dumeltan forth mid thon othran for minon sawle . with thon the he freond . and fultum . the betere sy into thære stowe the ic geworht hæbbe . and ic gean ælfhelme and wulfage thæra landa betwux ribbel and mæirse and [on Wi]rhalum . thæt heo hig dælan him betweonan . swa hig efnost magon . butan heora ægther his agen

Translation.

✠ In the name of the Lord. Here Wulfric declares his testament to his dear lord and to all his friends. That is that I give to my lord two hundred mancuses of gold, and two silver hilted swords, and four horses, two saddled and two not saddled, and the weapons that thereto belong. And I give to every bishop 5 mancuses of gold, and to the two archbishops, each of them, ten mancuses of gold. And I give to every monastic rule 1 pound, and to every abbot and to every abbess¹ 5 mancuses of gold. And I give to archbishop Ælfric the land at Dumeltan along with the others for my soul, so that he may the better be a friend and support to the monastery [*lit.* "place"] that I have built. And I give to Ælfhelm and Wulfage the lands between the Ribbel and the Mæirse and in Wirhalum, that they may share them between them as evenly as they may, unless each of them wish to have

¹ In Mr. Sanders's translation this word is printed "abbey," but I think this must be merely a clerical error.

Original.

habban w[ille . on thæt]gerad
 thonne sceadd¹ genge sy . thæt
 heora ægther sylle . iii . thusend
 sceadda . into thære stowe æt
 byrtune . and ic gean[n] ælfhelme
 rolfestun and heorlfestun . and ic
 geann wulfage thæs landes æt
 beorelfestune and æt marcham-
 tune . and ic geann ælfhelme thæs
 landes æt cunuges burh . with
 thon the he do thæt tha mvnucas
 habban ælce geara thridde dæl
 thæs fises . and he tha twa dæl .
 and ic geann wulfage thæs landes
 æt alewaldestune . and ic geann
 ufegeate th[æs] landes æt north-
 tune . on thæt gerad thæt he
 freond and fultum the betere sy
 into thære stowe . and ic geann
 minre ear[m]an dehter thæs landes
 æt elleforda and thæs æt acclea .
 mid eallon tham the thær nu to
 herth . tha hwile hire [dæg] bith .
 and ofer hire dæg ga thæt land
 into thære stowe æt byrtune . and
 heo hit nage mid nanon thinge to
 forwyrce[nne .] ac hægbe heo
 thone bryce tha hwile the heo
 hit gearnigean cann . and ga hit
 syththan into thæra stowe æt
 by[rtune .] forthon the hit wæs
 mines godfæder gyfu . and ic
 wille thæt ælfhelm si hire mund .
 and thæs landes . and thæt æt

Translation.

his own, on the condition that,
 when the shad shoals come in,
 each of them give 3 thousand
 shad to the monastery at Byrtune.
 And I give to Ælfhelm Rolfestun
 and Heorlfestun. And I give to
 Wulfage the land at Beorelfestune
 and at Marchamtune. And I
 give to Ælfhelm the land at
 Cunugesburh, so that he do so
 that the monks may have every
 year a third part of the fish and
 he the two parts. And I give to
 Wulfage the land at Alewaldest-
 tune. And I give to Ufegeate
 the land at Northtune, on the
 condition that he the better be a
 friend and support to the monas-
 tery. And I give to my poor
 daughter the land at Elleforda,
 and that at Acclea, with all that
 thereto now belongs, the while
 that her day shall be, and after
 her day let the land go to the
 monastery at Byrtune, and she is
 not on any account to waste it,
 but let her have the use of it the
 while she may be deserving of it
 [or *qu.* so long as she can enjoy
 it], and let it afterwards go to the
 monastery at Byrtune, because it
 was my godfather's gift; and I
 will that Ælfhelm be her guardian;
 and the land, and that at Tam-

¹ Palgrave (II. ccxciii, n.) understands this as referring to payment of "sceatt" or scot, whenever scot was payable, but this seems to do unnecessary violence to the language used without any gain in intelligibility. The passage from the Will is cited in Bosworth and Toller's *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, under the word "sceadd," with its usual meaning referring to the shad season.

Original.

tamwurthin hire t[o nan]on theow-
dome . ne nanon geborenan men .
butan thæt heo thone ealdordom
hæbbe . and ic geann wulfgar[e]
minan cnihte thæs landes æt baltry-
theleage . ealswa his fæder hit
him begeat . and ic becwethe
morcare thæt [la]nd æt walesho .
and thæt æt theogende thorpe .
and thæt æt hwitewylle . and thæt
æt clune . and thæt æt barle burh .
and thæt æt ducemannes tune .
and thæt æt mores burh . and
thæt æt eccingtune . and thæt æt
bectune . and thæt æt doneceas-
tre . and æt morlingtun[e] . and ic
geann his wife aldulfes treo ealswa
hit nu stont mid mete . and mid
mannon . and ic geann ælfelm[e]
minan mæge . thoes lands æt
paltertune . and thoes the scegth
me becwæth . and ic geann
æthelrice thæt land æt wibbetofte .
and thæt æt twongan . his dæg .
and ofer his dæg ga thæt land for
mine sawle . and for minre meder.¹
and for his int[o byrtune]. And
thys synd the land the ic geann
into byrtune . thæt is ærest byrtun
the thæt mynster onstent . and
stræt[tu]n . and bromleage . and
bedintun . and gageleage . and
witestun . and laganford . and
styrceleage . and niwantun æt
thære wic . and wædedun . and

Translation.

wurthin [, to be] subject to no
service to any born man, but that
she have the lordship. And I
give to Wulfgar my page the
land at Baltrytheleage, just as his
father acquired it for him. And
I bequeath to Morcar the land at
Walesho, and that at Theogende-
thorpe, and that at Hwite-
wylle, and that at Clune, and
that at Barleburh, and that at
Ducemannestune, and that at
Moresburh, and that at Eccing-
tune, and that at Bectune, and
that at Doneceastre, and at Mor-
lingtune. And I give to his wife
Aldulfes tree all as it now stands,
with meat and with men. And I
give to Ælfhelm my kinsman the
land at Paltertune, and that which
Scegth bequeathed to me. And
I give to Æthelric the land at
Wibbetofte, and that at Twongan,
for his day, and after his day let
the land go for my soul, and for
my mother, and for his to Byrtune.
And these are the lands that I
give to Byrtune; that is, first
Byrtun on which the abbey
stands, and Strætrun, and Brom-
leage, and Bedintun, and Gage-
leage, and Witestun, and Lagan-
ford, and Styrceleage, and Niwan-
tun at the Wick, and Wædedun,
and that little land that I own in

¹ In the Burton Abbey Register and in all the printed versions taken from it the words are "for his modor" instead of "for minre meder." (Bosworth and Toller's *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*.) I understand that "meder" is the usual form of inflection for the genitive or dative singular of "modor."

Original.

thæt lyttle land tha ic ah on other niwantune . and wineshylle . and suttun . and ticenheale . and thæt æt scen[g]tune . and thæt æt wiggestane . and thæt æt halen and hramesleage . and thæt æt sciplea . and thæt æt suthtune . and thæt æt actune tw[egra] manna dæg ealswa tha foreword sprecath . and deorlafestun . and thæt thærto hereth . thæt is rudegeard . and min lyttle land on cotewaltune . and lege mid eallon tham the thærto hereth . acofre mid tham the thærto hereth . [thæt is] hilum . and celfdun . and cætesthyrne . and thæt heregeatland æt Suthtune . and morlege . and bregdeshale . mortun . and eall seo socna the thærto hereth . and thæt land thyderi[n]n æt pyllesleage . and oggodesstun . and winnef[eld .] and snodeswic into mortune . and thæt æt tathawyllan . and thæt land æt æppebyg the ic gebohte mid minum feo . and thæt æt westune . and burhtun . and seo hid æt Scearnforda into wiggestane . and thæt æt hereburgebyrig . and ealdeswy[rthe .] and ælfredingtune . and eccleshale . and æt waddune . and an hida æt sceon . And ic geann tham hirede in tomwyrthin thæt land æt langandune . ealswa hi hit ær me to [le]ton . and habban hi thone bryce healfne . and healf[ne] tha munucas into byrtune . ge on meta . ge on mannon . ge on yrfe . ge on eallon thingon . and se

Translation.

the other Niwantun, and Wineshulle, and Suttun, and Ticenheale, and that at Scengtune, and that at Wiggestane, and that at Halen, and Hramesleage, and that at Sciplea, and that at Suthtune, and that at Actune for two men's day [*i.e.* two lives] all as the agreement says, and Deorlafestun, and what thereto belongs, that is Rudegeard and my little land in Cotewaltune, and Lege with all that thereto belongs, that is Hilum, and Celfdun, and Cætesthyrne, and the heriot-land at Suthtune, and Morlege, and Bregdeshale, Mortun, and all the soke that thereto belong, and the land besides at Pyllesleage, and Oggodesstun, and Winnefeld, and Snodeswic in Mortune, and that at Tathawyllan, and that land at Æppebyg that I bought with my money, and that at Westune, and Burhtun, and the hide at Scearnforda in Wiggestane, and that at Hereburgebyrig and Ealdeswyrthe, and Ælfredingtune, and Eccleshale, and at Waddune, and one hide at Sceon. And I give to the convent at Tomwyrthin the land at Langandune, all as they before released it to me; and let them have for their own use half, and the monks at Byrtune half, both of meat and of men and of stock and of all things, and let the bishop take to his land at Bubandune, and the monks at Byrtune to that which is on the land, both

Original.

bisceop fo to his lande æt buban-
dune . and fon tha munucas into
byrtune to tham the on tham land
is . ge on mete . ge on mannon .
ge on eallon thin[gon .] and thæt
land tham bisceope æt thære
syle . and ic wille thæt se cyning
beo hlaford . thæs mynstres the
ic getimbref[de] . and thæra land ara
the ic thyderinn becweden hæbbe .
gode to lofe . and to wurthmynta
minan hlafor[de] and for minre
sawla . and ælfric arcebisceop .
and ælfhelm min brothor thæt hig
beon mund . and freond . and
forespreocan into thære stowe with
ælcne geborene mann . heom to
nanre agenre æhta . butan into
san[ctus] Benedictus regole . and
ic geann minre goddehter mor-
cares and aldythe . thæt land æt
strættune . and tho[ne] bule the
wæs hire ealdermoder . and into
tham mynstre æt byrtune an hund
wildra horsa . and sexten tame
henegestas . and thæto eall thæt
ic hæbbe . on libbendan . and on
liegendan . butan than the ic
hecweden hæbbe . and god
ælmihhtig hine awende of eallum
godes dreame and of ealra cristenra
gemanan se the THIS
awende . butan hit min an cyne
hlaforð sy . and ic hopyge to him
swa godan and swa mildheortan
[thæt] he hit nylle sylf don . ne
eac nanum othrum menn getha-
fian . UALETE IN XPO . AMEN

Translation.

of meat and of men and of all
things, and the land at the "syle"
[i.e., miry place] to the bishop.
And I will that the king be lord
of the abbey that I have built,
and of the landed property that I
have bequeathed thereto [or *qu.*
besides?], to the praise of God,
and to the honour of my lord and
for my soul; and that Ælfric the
archbishop and Ælfhelm my
brother be guardians and friends
and advocates of the monastery
against every born man, to them
not as their own property, but for
Saint Benedict's rule. And I give
to my goddaughter, (the daughter)
of Morcar and Aldgyth, the land
at Strættune, and the brooch that
was her grandmother's. And to
the abbey at Byrtune [I give] a
hundred wild horses, and sixteen
tame geldings, and [in addition]
thereto all that I have, in living and
in lying, except that which I have
bequeathed. And may God turn
aside from all God's joy and from
all Christian communion him who
shall turn aside this, unless it be
my own kingly lord; and I trust
in him so good and so gentle-
hearted that he will never do it
himself nor suffer any other man
to do it. Fare ye well in Christ.
Amen

The document, from the facsimile of which the Will has here been taken, is a single skin of parchment, containing on its face

(first) the charter of king Æthelred in favour of the monastery founded by Wulfric, which is in Latin except that it includes a summary in Anglo-Saxon of the places mentioned in Wulfric's gift to the monastery, and which is followed by the names of the witnesses to the charter, and (secondly) at the foot of the charter a full copy of Wulfric's will in Anglo-Saxon characters. The handwriting is very neat and clear, and the capital letters, which occur frequently in the charter and especially in the attestations but not often in the will (where practically all the names of persons and places begin with small letters), are coloured alternately blue and red and ornamented with gold. Mr. Sanders says (*Facsimiles*, Part III, Introduction, p. xvi) that the colours are now much faded, but that the document must at one time have been a handsome specimen of its kind. On the reverse side are three endorsements; of the first there is a short description in Anglo-Saxon of the contents of the document, which it calls a "freols boc," or charter of freedom, written apparently in the same hand as the document itself and with its initial capital letter coloured in the same manner; the second a summary, also in Anglo-Saxon, of all the hides in Offlow hundred, of which only six then belonged to the abbot of Burton; and the third a summary in Latin of all the Abbey estates as set out in Domesday Book; the last two endorsements being in a different and larger handwriting and evidently added at a later date and after the parchment had been folded: the second endorsement (as pointed out by Wolferstan) bears internal evidence of having been made about a generation after Domesday when Fulc Paganel was feudal baron of Dudley and Robert de Ferrers of Tutbury. This parchment was found laid up with the Burton Abbey Register at Beaudesert, and Shaw took it for the original charter itself. Wolferstan scoffed at this notion, and certainly there are several mistakes in the Latin part of the charter, which suggest that the scribe was not much of a Latin scholar and make it difficult to believe that the original charter could have passed exactly in that form: however, as I understand Mr. Sanders's Introduction, he regarded the document as the original charter notwithstanding the Latin mistakes, to the most conspicuous of which he calls attention. But the mistakes, if not very important, are fairly numerous; and the use of colours and

gilding in the lettering and the absence of the crosses which usually mark the witnesses' attestations, though neither of these in itself conclusive, both rather point to the document being a copy and not the original (*cf.* Kemble's Introduction to Vol. I of the *Codex Diplomaticus*, p. xciii; Sanders's Introduction to Part I of the *Facsimiles of Anglo-Saxon MSS.*, p. viii; and Earle's Introduction to his *Handbook to the Land Charters*, p. xxxvi). However this may be, the document, if not the original, is beyond question a very early copy,¹ which cannot in any case have been long after Domesday, and may well have been contemporaneous with the foundation of the abbey. The first endorsement runs as follows :—

Original.

This is seo freols boc to tham
mynstre æt byrtune the æthelred
cyning æfre ecelice gefreode . gode
to lofe . and eallon his halgan to
weorthunge . Swa swa Wulfric hit
geedstathelode . for hine sylfne .
and for his yldrena sawla . and hit
mid munecon gesette . thæt thær
æfre inne thæs hades menn under
heora abbude gode theowian æfter
sanctus benedictus tæcincge . SIC
FIAT.

Translation.

This is the charter of freedom
to the abbey at Byrtune, which
king Æthelred for ever freed, to
the praise of God and the honour
of all His saints. Just as Wulfric
established it, for himself and for
his parents' souls, and settled it
with monks, that therein for ever
men of that order may under their
abbot serve God after the teaching
of Saint Benedict. So be it.

The second endorsement, containing the summary of the total hides in Offlow hundred, is set out in full and discussed in Wolferstan's first letter to the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1816 (Vol. 86, Pt. 1, p. 20). It has only a very remote bearing on the document upon which it is endorsed, and for the present purpose its chief interest lies in the fact that it seems to fix the date of the document itself as at any rate not later than a generation after Domesday. The third endorsement, the Domesday summary of the Abbey estates, is substantially identical with that set out in the *Staffordshire Historical Collections*

¹ The late Mr. Duignan and Mr. Stevenson put the date as *c.* 1100, but they do not say on what grounds they base this conclusion.

(Vol. V, Pt. 1, p. 7), where it is taken from the copy in the Burton Abbey Register headed "Sic continetur super Domesday apud Wintoniam." Mr. Sanders says that this endorsement is written in the same characters, a little magnified, and in the same style as that employed in the Great Survey, and he appears to have thought that it might be the original description of the abbey lands obtained for the Royal Commissioners (*Facsimiles*, Pt. III, Introduction, p. xvi). To me however it seems more likely that this third endorsement, like the second, was made after the Great Survey, and that it was taken from it. The royal charter and the will, with the first and third endorsements on the skin of parchment which contains them both, are reproduced *in that order* as the first entries in the Burton Abbey Register, of which the earlier folios are attributed by General Wrottesley to the thirteenth century (*Staff. Hist. Coll.*, Vol. V, Pt. 1, p. 6). In the *Monasticon* some confusion is caused by the order being inverted: there the will with the first endorsement (which really applies more to the charter than to the will) are placed together first, and the charter is entered separately on a subsequent page. The reproduction in the Register of the two endorsements immediately after the charter and the will obviously suggests that this transcript must have been taken either from the single skin of parchment itself or from some precisely similar document (which would in that case be the common source of them both); and it is to be noted that both in the third endorsement and on fo. 3 of the Register, the number of carucates in Appleby is left in blank, although in the similar extract from Domesday, which is repeated in a subsequent part of the Register at the end of the interpolated pages containing the two twelfth century surveys, their number is rightly given as "five" in accordance with Domesday.

The charter itself is dated in 1004, and signed by king Æthelred and his six sons, the two archbishops, ten bishops (who have been identified as Winchester, London, Wells, Sherborne, Dorchester, Selsey, Rochester, Elmham, Lichfield and Lindsey), twelve abbots, three *duces* (or ealdormen) and twenty-two *ministri* (or king's thegns). It has been printed in the *Monasticon* (ed. 1655, i. 269; ed. 1817, iii. 39) from the Register, and in the *Codex Diplomaticus* (iii. 330, No. 710) from the *Monasticon*,

and again in the *Facsimiles of Anglo-Saxon MSS.* (Ordnance Survey), Pt. III, from the single skin; and the names of the leading witnesses are also given in the *Annales Monastici* (Rolls Ser., No. 36, Pt. I, p. 183). In the *Monasticon* and the *Codex Diplomaticus* the names of one of the king's sons, Eadred, and of one of the *ministri*, Godric, who should come between Eadric and Godwine, are omitted, and several of the names are misspelt; there are also many other discrepancies between these versions, which purport to be taken directly or indirectly from the Burton Abbey Register, and the facsimile of the single skin of parchment.¹

This confirmatory charter, which refers to the donor as "nobilis progeniei minister Wulfric," and which frees the lands given by him to the monastery at Burton from all exactions except the *trinoda necessitas*, viz. aid for expeditions and the repair of fortresses and bridges, contains a list of the lands so given, and this list includes either expressly or by implication all the lands in which an immediate interest had been given by the will to the monks,² but not those in which they took only a reversionary interest. If Wulfric lived until 1010, as is stated with so much precision of detail in the *Chronica Abbatum* of Burton, it is clear that the document, which is usually referred to as his will, though in the heading in the Burton Abbey Register it is called merely "*Carta Wulfrici Spoti*" (*cf. Staff. Coll.*, Vol. V, Pt. I, p. 7), must have taken effect in his lifetime. Not only is this the natural inference from the terms in which it is referred to in the confirmatory charter, but there is also independent corroboration of the fact in a deed of exchange, which is the next document entered in the Register, and by which two of the more distant villas given by Wulfric to Burton Abbey (Ealdeswyrthe and Ælfrington) were exchanged for the vill of Rolleston in Staffordshire; for that deed is dated in 1008, two years before the testator's death, and yet was made, not between king

¹ For these discrepancies see my Note C, *inf.*

² Rudyard, Cotwalton, Caldou, Casterne and Shene are not expressly named in the confirmatory charter, but the first two would doubtless be included in Darlaston and the last three in Okeover.

Æthelred and Wulfric Spot, but between Æthelred and Abbot Wulfgeat (Burton Abbey Register, fo. 4; Shaw's *Staffordshire*, i. 28); moreover the vill acquired by the abbey on the exchange had previously belonged to Wulfric himself, and must have come into the hands of the king on forfeiture by his devisee Ælfhelm. It was this peculiar feature of the will which led the late General Wrottesley to surmise (*Staff. Coll.* V, Pt. I, p. xiv, *Addenda* to p. 1) that Burton Abbey may have been founded by Wulfric as an expiatory offering for his share in the massacre of the Danes, which took place on St. Brice's Day (November 13), 1002. He found some support for his surmise in the fact that one of the anonymous chronicles quoted by Holinshed stated that the massacre commenced at Marchinton in Staffordshire, which was one of Wulfric Spot's manors. To be strictly accurate it should however be added that the place mentioned in this connection was not Marchinton itself, but Hounhill, a separate manor, though situate within the chapelry of Marchinton and in Hanbury parish. If this really was Wulfric's motive, it was certainly not shared by his royal master, who in another charter dated the same year (1004) speaks of the massacre of the Danes as a most just slaughter, which he had decreed with the consent of his Witan (Parker's *Early History of Oxford*, Oxford Hist. Soc., Vol. III, p. 320).

The will begins with a gift to the king as his lord of 200 mancuses of gold (*i.e.* £25, a mancus being equal to 30 pence), two silver-hilted swords, and four horses—two with and two without saddles—and the weapons belonging thereto. This gift was obviously in satisfaction of the heriot due on the tenant's death to the lord, and it corresponds fairly closely both in particulars and in amount with the heriots mentioned in three tenth and early eleventh century wills given by Thorpe in his *Diplomatarium Anglicanum* (pp. 499 and 512) and Napier and Stevenson in their *Early Charters* (p. 127), one being that of an ealdorman (*c.* 946–955) and the others those of two bishops (*c.* 955 and 1008–1012). Under the laws of Cnut, enacted a few years later (*cap.* II, § 29), which are cited by Palgrave in his *English Commonwealth* (II. ccclxii), the heriot payable by an eorl was declared to be eight horses, four with and four without saddles, four helmets, four coats of mail, eight spears, eight

shields, four swords, and 200 mancuses of gold, that of a king's thegn four horses, two with and two without saddles, one helmet, one coat of mail, four spears, four shields, two swords, and 50 mancuses of gold. With these heriots should be compared the reliefs payable under the laws of William the Conqueror (cap. 22 and 23) on the death of a count and of a baron, where the relief of a count corresponds with the heriot of an eorl of Cnut's time and the relief of a baron with the heriot of a king's thegn. It will be observed that in Wulfric Spot's case the horses and armour were the same as those shortly afterwards ordained for the heriot of a king's thegn, while the payment in gold was equivalent to that prescribed for the heriot of an eorl.

After giving sums of varying amounts to every archbishop, bishop, monastic order, abbot, and abbess, the testator proceeds to dispose of his lands, the first of such gifts being to archbishop Ælfric of the land at Dumeltan "along with the others," the meaning of which is made clear by the previous history of that place as fully detailed in the *Historia Monasterii de Abingdon* (Rolls Ser., No. 2, Part 1, pp. 60-64, 388-392, 411-419; Part 2, pp. 35, 36). Shortly stated it is as follows:—Dumeltan, or Dumbleton, at that time consisting of 17 manses, was given to Abingdon Monastery by king Æthelstan, *c.* 930. One of its abbots alienated it in favour of his nephew, and it subsequently came back into the hands of the king on forfeiture by the alienees. King Æthelred made a fresh grant of two and a half manses there to another grantee, and Wulfric (Wulfrun's son) having acquired this land from the grantee obtained a confirmatory grant from the king in 995. The rest of the land there, then comprising 24 manses, was bestowed upon archbishop Ælfric by the same king in 1002. Ælfric, who now acquired Wulfric's two and a half manses under his will, afterwards left the whole back to Abingdon Monastery on his death in 1005. Archbishop Ælfric's will is also printed in Thorpe's *Diplomatarium Anglicanum* at p. 549.

The will of Wulfric Spot mentions no children (as such) except one daughter, whose name is not given, and who is referred to in terms which suggest that she was suffering from some incurable malady, which may have affected her brain. The principal legatees, or rather devisees, are Ælfhelm and

Wulfage, to whom are given equally between them the lands between the Ribble and the Mersey and in Wirral as well as a few other manors elsewhere. Other devisees besides Burton Abbey and Tamworth Convent are Ufegeat, Morcar and his wife Ealdgyth and their daughter (who was the testator's god-daughter), another (?) Ælfhelm described as the testator's kinsman, Æthelric, and Wulfgar the testator's knight or page: and in a passage near the end of the will the testator mentions his brother Ælfhelm. It is not quite clear how many persons of the name of Ælfhelm are referred to in the will. Professor Tait, in his article in the *Victoria County History of Lancashire* already mentioned (ii. 178), assumes that the principal devisees Ælfhelm and Wulfage were the testator's sons, and there may be something to be said for this view: the fact that they were the principal devisees and the absence in this gift of any description of the relationship, such as is to be found in the subsequent parts of the will where the name occurs, perhaps suggest it. Freeman however takes this Ælfhelm to be the same person as Ælfhelm the testator's brother, and identifies him with Ælfhelm the "nobilis dux" (or ealdorman of the Northumbrian provinces) who was murdered at Shrewsbury at the instigation of Eadric Streona in 1006, and Wulfage and Ufegeat with Ælfhelm's two sons of those names who had their eyes put out by the king's orders shortly afterwards (Florence of Worcester, i. 158); and on the whole this view, which is accepted by most writers, seems to be the more probable one. I suspect that Morcar's wife Ealdgyth, to whom the testator gave Aldulfestreo, and to whose daughter (his own god-daughter) he gave land at Stretton and the ornament that belonged to *her grandmother*, was the testator's sister¹; and that her husband Morcar, who was given a considerable number of manors forming a compact block in the extreme north-eastern corner of Derbyshire and the adjoining confines of Yorkshire, was the earl Morcar mentioned in the *Chronica Abbatum* in connection with Wulfric Spot's funeral, and also identical with the Morcar, son

¹ Robertson (*Historical Essays*, p. 185) and Sir James Ramsay (*Foundations of England*, i. 374), both suggest that she may have been his daughter.

of Earngrim, one of the chief thegns of the Seven Burghs,¹ who with his brother Sigeferth was murdered by Eadric Streona in 1015 (*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, sub anno*; cf. Symeon of Durham, Rolls Ser., No. 75, Part 2, p. 147, who calls them "digniores et potentiores ministros ex Seovenburgensibus"; Henry of Huntingdon, Rolls. Ser., No. 74, p. 181, who calls them "proceres egregios"; and Florence of Worcester, i. 170, who describes them as "comites Northanhumbroꝝ.") I suppose Æthelric to have also been a near relative, perhaps a nephew, of the testator, because the land given to him was directed to go after his death to Burton Abbey "for my soul and *for my mother's*² and for his."

So much for the persons named in the will. It remains now only to identify the places mentioned, and in doing this I have endeavoured to collect together the various suggestions that have been made by all the authorities to whom I have already referred and also by the late Mr. W. H. Duignan in his recent books on place names in Staffordshire and Warwickshire, and I have generally indicated (for what they may be worth) the identifications which seem to me the most probable.³ I have also appended the names of the places identified, as they appear in Domesday, together with the names of their respective possessors *tempore Regis Edwardi, i.e.* at the date of the Conquest, 1066. The places mentioned in the Will are as follows:—

Given to archbishop Ælfric:—

Land at DUMELTAN.—Dumbleton, in the hundred of Kiftsgate, co. Gloucester, 6 miles south from Evesham. (*Domesday* :

¹ The Five Burghs of the Danelagh were Derby, Leicester, Lincoln, Stamford and Nottingham: the Seven Burghs, have been supposed to include these five and York and Chester as well. (Lingard, i. 296; Freeman's *Norman Conquest*, i. 371, note.) Sir James Ramsay however thinks that the word "Seven" Burghs is merely a clerical error for "Five," which occurs in a subsequent passage. (*Foundations of England*, i. 373, note.)

² In the copy of the will in the Burton Abbey Register the passage appears to be "for *his* modor" instead of "for minre meder."

³ I have since added within square brackets the identifications adopted by Mr. Duignan and Mr. Stevenson in the footnotes to their article in the *Shropshire Archaeological Society's Transactions*, 4th series, vol. i. pp. 12–19, which I had not seen when this paper was written, and these I have marked with the initials "D. & S."

Dubentone, *T.R.E.* held by St. Mary de Abendone, *i.e.* Abingdon Abbey.) So Dugdale, Shaw, and in fact all commentators.

To Ælfhelm and Wulfage :—

Lands between RIBBEL and MÆRSE and in WIRHALUM.—These comprise the four present hundreds of West Derby, Blackburn, Salford and Leyland, *i.e.* the whole of Lancashire south of the Ribble, and the adjoining hundred of Wirral in Cheshire. (*D.* Inter Ripam et Mersham, *T.R.E.* the King and various thegns under him; and *D.* Wilaverton, *T.R.E.* *qu.* Ulviet.) [“Wirhalum—Wirral, a tongue of land in North-west Cheshire between the Mersey and the Dee; it covers about 100,000 acres. The terminal *um* is the dative plural, nominative singular WIRHEALH,” *D. & S.* But the terminal is indicated by the usual abbreviation, which may stand for *um* or for *un*.]

To Ælfhelm :—

ROLFESTUN.—Dugdale identifies this as Rolleston in Derbyshire: *qu.* whether he means Rosliston, in the hundred of Repton and Gresley, 5 miles south from Burton, not mentioned in Domesday? But is it not much more likely to be Rolleston in Staffordshire in the hundred of Offlow, 3½ miles north-west from Burton. (*D.* Rolvestune, *T.R.E.* earl Morcar?) If so, a few years later, in 1008, after the murder of Ælfhelm it was acquired by the monks of Burton from king Æthelred in exchange for the more distant vill of Ealdeswyrthe and Ælfredingtune. [“Rolleston, co. Stafford,” *D. & S.*]

HEORLFESTUN.—Harlaston, a hamlet in the parish of Clifton Campville and hundred of Offlow, co. Staffs., 5 miles north from Tamworth (*D.* Horulvestone, *T.R.E.* earl Algar.) So identified by Dugdale [and *D. & S.*].

To Wulfage :—

BEORELFESTUNE.—Barlaston, in the hundred of Pirehill, co. Staffs., 4 miles north from Stone (*D.* Bernulveston, *T.R.E.* Augustin). So Dugdale and Shaw [also *D. & S.*].

MARCHAMTUNE.—Marchington, a township or chapelry in the parish of Hanbury and hundred of Offlow, co. Staffs., 3 miles south-east from Uttoxeter (*D.* Marchameton, *T.R.E.* Uluric.) So Dugdale and Shaw [also *D. & S.*].

To Ælfhelm:—

CUNUGESBURH.—Thorpe in his English translation renders this Congresbury (*D. Cungresberie, T.R.E. earl Harold*), which is a parish in the hundred of Winterstoke, co. Somerset, 6 miles from Axbridge and situate on the river Yeo. But the testator had no other lands in Somersetshire, and Dugdale, Shaw, Wolferstan and Hunter [also *D. & S.*] all agree in identifying this place as Conisborough or Coningsborough (*D. Coningesbury and Cuningesbury, T.R.E. earl Harold*)—the Coningsborough Castle of Sir Walter Scott's "Ivanhoe"—which is a parish situated on the river Don, in the wapentake of Strafforth and Tickhill and the West Riding of Yorkshire, some 5 miles south-west from Doncaster. Hunter thinks that it must have included not only Coningsborough itself but also all the 28 villis or manors which at the time of Domesday were within its soke, his reason being that it is clear from the terms of the gift that a considerable fishery was included, and that it is unlikely that there was anything of that sort at Coningsborough itself, whereas Domesday shows that there was a large fishery at Tudworth, one of the places included in the soke. On the other hand, it should be noted that there are no words in the will pointing to the inclusion of other subordinate manors, as there are in some of the other gifts, *e.g.* Darlaston, Leigh, Okeover and Morton.

To Wulfage:—

ALEWALDESTUNE.—According to Dugdale this is Alveston, co. Derby, which is a township in the parish of St. Michael's and hundred of Morleston and Litchurch, 3 miles east from Derby (*D. Ælwoldestun, T.R.E. Tochi*). There is also a parish in the same hundred called Elvaston (*D. Alewoldestune, T.R.E. Tochi*) about 4 miles east-south-east from Derby near the conflux of the rivers Derwent and Trent, and another parish in the hundred of Barlichway, co. Warwick, near Stratford-on-Avon, called Alveston, formerly known as Aulston (*D. Alverstone, T.R.E. Bricstuin, Britnod, and Alwi*). Thorpe translates the name into Alwalton, which is a parish in the hundred of Normancross, co. Huntingdon (*D. Alwoltune, T.R.E. Abbot de Burg*), but the testator held no other land in that county. ["Alvaston or Elvaston, two villages in the parish of St. Michael, Derby." *D. & S.*]

To Ufegeat:—

NORTHTUNE.—Perhaps Norton in Scarsdale hundred, co. Derby, 9 miles north from Chesterfield (*D. Norton, T.R.E. Godeva and Bada*). So identified by Dugdale, but there are of course many other Nortons, including Norton-on-the-Moors and Norton-under-Cannock in Staffordshire, Norton-juxta-Twycross and King's Norton in Leicestershire, and Norton Lindsay in Warwickshire. ["Probably Great Norton, 4 miles from Shrewsbury," *D. & S.*]

To the testator's daughter for life, and then to Burton Abbey:—

ELLEFORDA.—Elford, a parish in Offlow hundred, co. Staffs., situated on the river Tame, about 5 miles east by north from Lichfield and $4\frac{1}{2}$ north-west from Tamworth (*D. Elaforde, T.R.E. earl Algar*). So Dugdale, Shaw and Duignan [also *D. & S.*].

ACCLEA.—Oakley, a hamlet in the parish of Croxall, co. Staffs., about a mile from Elford (*D. Aclei, T.R.E. Achi, or else D. Acle, T.R.E. Ulwin*). So Dugdale, Shaw and Duignan [also *D. & S.*].

TAMWURTHIN.—Tamworth, once a royal borough of the Mercian kings, and situate on the conflux of the rivers Tame and Anker, now partly in Warwickshire and partly in Staffordshire (*D. Tameworde, T.R.E. the burgesses*). There was in Saxon times a convent at Tamworth, but it had ceased to exist before the Norman Conquest. It is not quite clear whether this gift to the testator's daughter included the land itself or only the overlordship of Tamworth, but in any case it would probably include the site of the ancient castle. ["Tamwurthin (dative singular), Tamworth," *D. & S.*]

To Wulfage, the testator's page or knight:—

BALTRYTHELEAGE.—This appears to be Balterley, a township situate in Pirehill hundred, co. Staffs., though it belongs to the parish of Barthomley in Cheshire; it is about 7 miles north-west from Newcastle (*D. Baltredelege, T.R.E. Godwin and Uluric*). So Dugdale and Duignan [also *D. & S.*].

To Morcar :—

WALESHO.—Dugdale suggests Walshall in Staffordshire, and this view is adopted by Duignan, who says that the terminal “ho” in Anglo-Saxon means “a hill.” But there can I think be little doubt that Wolferstan is right in identifying Walesho and the ten other villas included in this gift to Morcar as places all close together on the confines of Yorkshire and Derbyshire. If so, Walesho is doubtless Wales, a township in the parish of Laughton-le-Morthen and wapentake of Strafforth and Tickhill, co. Yorks., situate on a hill overlooking the vale of the Rother; and it is so identified by Hunter, as well as by Wolferstan in his letter to the *Gentleman's Magazine* referred to above. (*D. Wales, T.R.E.* earl Edwin.) [D. & S. say: “Probably Walsall, as Walesdale is mentioned in an endorsement on the early copy of the will.” But this endorsement refers to many places all in Offlow hundred, co. Staffs., of which only a few are mentioned in Wulfric's will, and none, I think, included in the gift to Morcar.]

THEOGENDETHORPE.—Thorpe translates this name into Theddlethorpe, which is on the sea-coast of Lincolnshire, a parish in Calceworth hundred and Lindsey division, near Saltfleet. But the testator had no other land in that county, unless it be Tathwell. Wolferstan in his letter to the *Gentleman's Magazine* suggests Hackenthorpe, which is a hamlet in the parish of Beighton and the hundred of Scarsdale; co. Derby, about 5 miles south-east from Sheffield. Hunter in one passage follows Wolferstan and in another, if I rightly understand him, identifies this place as Hexthorpe, a village on the Don about a mile above Doncaster (*D. Estorp, T.R.E.* Nigel). But having regard to the sequence of names I would suggest that the true identification should be Thorpe Salvin, which is a Yorkshire parish lying between Wales in Yorkshire and Whitwell in Derbyshire, and known in the reign of Edward III. as Thorpe Rykenild from its situation on that ancient highway: it is mentioned in Domesday under the name of Torp (*T.R.E.* earl Edwin) in close juxtaposition with Wales, whereas Hackenthorpe does not appear to be mentioned there at all. [“Not identified,” D. & S.]

HWITWYLLE.—Whitwell, a parish in Scarsdale hundred, co. Derby, on the borders of Yorkshire and 4 miles south-west from

Worksop. (*D. Witewelle, T.R.E. Leuenot.*) So Dugdale, Wolferstan and Hunter [and so too D. & S.]; and this must surely be correct, though Kemble in his Index of places suggests Whitwell, co. Worcester.

CLUNE.—Dugdale says Clowne in Nottinghamshire, but Hunter identifies this place as Clown, a parish in Scarsdale hundred, co. Derby, 8 or 9 miles north-east from Chesterfield, which must I think be the place intended by Wolferstan, and seems to be clearly right (*D. Clvne, T.R.E. Leuenot.*) [So too D. & S.]

BARLEBURH.—Barlborough, a parish in Scarsdale hundred, co. Derby, 8 miles east-north-east from Chesterfield. (*D. Barleburg, T.R.E. Leuenot.*) So Dugdale, Wolferstan and Hunter [also D. & S.].

DUCEMANNESTUNE.—Duckmanton, formerly a parish, but now merged in the parish of Sutton, in Scarsdale hundred, co. Derby. (*D. Dochemanestvn, T.R.E. Leuenot.*) So Dugdale, Wolferstan and Hunter [also D. & S.].

MORESBURH.—Mosborough, a township in Eckington parish and Scarsdale hundred, co. Derby, 6 miles south-east from Sheffield. (*D. Moresburg, T.R.E. Leuenot.*) So Wolferstan and Hunter [also D. & S.].

ECCINGTUNE.—Eckington, a parish in Scarsdale hundred, co. Derby, 6 miles south-east from Sheffield. (*D. Echintone, T.R.E. Leuenot.*) So Dugdale, Wolferstan and Hunter [also D. & S.]. Kemble suggests Eckington, co. Worcester.

BECTUNE.—Beighton, a parish in Scarsdale hundred, co. Derby, 6 miles south-east from Sheffield. [*D. Bectune, T.R.E. Leuenot.*] So Dugdale, Wolferstan and Hunter [also D. & S.].

DONECEASTRE.—Doncaster, the well-known town in the wapentake of Strafforth and Tickhill, co. York, situate on the river Don, and said to have once been an occasional residence of the old Northumbrian kings. It appears in Domesday as Donecestre included with several other places under Estorp, *i.e.*, Hexthorpe. (*T.R.E. earl Tosti.*) So Dugdale, Wolferstan, Hunter and Kemble [also D. & S.].

MORLINGTON.—Dugdale failed in identifying this place. Thorpe translates it into Morleston, which with Litchurch is a hundred in South Derbyshire around Derby, and Wolferstan thinks that there may once have been a vill of that name, which he apparently identifies with Morley; but Morley is separately mentioned later on in this will and included in the gift to Burton Abbey. Hunter makes the ingenious suggestion that the name should be Morthingtune, *i.e.* the tun of the Moor thing, now called Laughton-le-Morthen, a large Yorkshire parish near the Derbyshire border: and, whatever the true etymology, I think that it is clearly in this neighbourhood that the place must be sought. ["Not identified," D. & S.]

To Morcar's wife, Ealdgyth:—

ALDULFESTREO.—Dugdale and Duignan both say Austrey, co. Warwick, which is a parish in the hundred of Hemlingworth, in the extreme north of the county, 5 miles east from Tamworth. This place afterwards came into the possession of Burton Abbey by the gift of earl Leuric or Leofric. The name is not a common one: it means Aldulf's tree. (*D.* Alduluestreo, *T.R.E.* the Abbot of Burton.) [So too D. & S.]

To Ælfhelm, the testator's kinsman:—

PALTERTUNE.—Palterton, a place in Scarsdale hundred, co. Derby, about 6 miles south-east from Chesterfield. (*D.* Paltretune, *T.R.E.* Leuenot.) So Dugdale ["Palterton, in Bolsover, Derbyshire," D. & S.]

To Æthelric for life, then to Burton Abbey:—

WIBBETOFTE.—Wibtoft, a hamlet belonging to the parish of Claybrooke, co. Leicester, but situate itself in the hundred of Knightlow, co. Warwick, at the junction of the Watling Street and the Fosse Way, 5½ miles north-west from Lutterworth. (*D.* Wibeot, *T.R.E.* Saxi.) So Dugdale and Nichols [also D. & S.]

TWONGAN.—Dugdale and Shaw agree in identifying this as Tonge near Dunnington, co. Leicester, which is a hamlet in the parish of Breedon and hundred of West Goscote, near Castle Donnington. (*D.* Tunge, *T.R.E.* name of tenant not given.) Wolferstan, possibly influenced by Shaw's mention of Dunnington, suggests Tong, co. Salop (*D.* Tuange, *T.R.E.* earl Morcar),

which adjoins another place called Donington. Perhaps the context may rather point to the Leicestershire Tonge, but in either case it would be some distance from Wibtoft. ["Tonge, 4 miles south-east of Shifnal, co. Stafford," D. & S. This should be co. Salop, not Stafford : it lies on the border of Staffordshire, but is in Shropshire.]

To Burton Abbey :—

BYRTUNE.—Burton-on-Trent, in Offlow hundred, co. Staffs., the place at which the monastery had already been built by the testator. (*D. Bertone, T.R.E. Abbot of Burton.*) So all writers.

STRÆTTUN.—Stretton, a township in the parish of Burton-on-Trent. (*D. Stratone, T.R.E. Abbot of Burton.*) Dugdale, Shaw, Duignan [and D. & S.].

BROMLEAGE.—Abbots Bromley, in Pirehill hundred, co. Staffs., about 12 miles east from Stafford. (*D. Brunlege, T.R.E. Abbot of Burton.*) So Dugdale, Shaw, Duignan [and D. & S.]. Kemble suggests Bromley in Kent, but this is obviously wrong.

BEDINTUN.—Beddington. The name is, I understand, not now extant, but the place is identified by the Burton Abbey twelfth century surveys as adjoining Pillatonhall, which was doubtless included in the gift ; it is situate in Cuttleston hundred, co. Staffs., not far from Penkridge. (*D. Beddintone, T.R.E. Abbot of Burton.*) Dugdale, Shaw, Duignan [and D. & S.].

GAGELEAGE.—Not identified by Dugdale. Shaw says Forest of Gayley, and Wolferstan in his copy strikes out the words "Forest of." Gailey, which some years ago was better known as Spread Eagle, is not far from Penkridge ; it lies on the Watling Street between Cannock and Stretton (by Brewood) at the place where the road crosses the highway leading from Stafford to Wolverhampton. So too Duignan [and D. & S.]. It does not appear to be mentioned in Domesday, unless it be Gragelie (*T.R.E. Bodin*). It gave its name to a bailiwick and a haye within the forest of Cannock, existing in the thirteenth century. (*Staff. Coll.*, Vol. v, Pt. 1, pp. 145, 164, 165, 176, 177.)

WITESTUN.—Not identified by Dugdale or Shaw, but Wolferstan says in Staffordshire, and General Wrottesley and Duignan identify it as Whiston in Penkridge. (*D. Witestone, T.R.E. Abbot of Burton.*) [So too D. & S.]

LAGANFORD.—Not identified by Dugdale or Shaw; but Wulferstan, who says that in the original document (by which he must mean Æthelred's charter) the name is not Laganford but Langanford, places it in Shropshire; and Eyton states that Longford with Stirchley, one of its berewicks, was in Saxon times held by the earls of Mercia, which I take to be a reference to Wulfric Spot. This place is Longford by Newport, in the hundred of South Bradford. (*D. Langeford, T.R.E.* earl Edwin.) There is also a place of the same name in the hundred of Apple-tree, co. Derby, 8 miles west from Derby. But the mention of Styrceleage immediately after Laganford confirms the view taken by Wulferstan and Eyton. [So also *D. & S.*]

STYRCLEAGE.—Stirchley, a berewick of Longford but situate some distance from it, about 3 miles west from Shifnal. So Wulferstan and Eyton (as I understand them) [also *D. & S.*]. It is not mentioned by name in Domesday.

NIWANTUN ÆT THERE WIC.—Newton at the wick. So far as I know this place has never been identified. There are four places at least of the name of Newton in Cheshire, more than one in Staffordshire, a Newton Regis about 4 miles from Tamworth in Warwickshire, and a King's Newton and a Newton Solney in Derbyshire. In these circumstances identification is almost impossible, unless a clue can be found in the words "at the wick." [*D. & S.* say "This refers to a lost Newton at Droitwich then known as *Wic* or *Wich*, or to Newton by Middlewich, co. Chester." If, however, "wic" stands for *vicus*, perhaps Newton Regis, near the old royal borough of Tamworth (*qu. D. Niwetone, T.R.E.* Wistun and Godeva) may be the place intended. In earlier charters of the time of the Mercian kings Tamworth is called "vicus regius" and "vicus celebris."]

WÆDEDUN.—Not identified. Thorpe translates it as Watton. But may it not be Wedington, a parish in Hemlingford hundred co. Warwick, $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles from Nuneaton? (*D. Watitune, T.R.E.* apparently Hereward.) ["Unidentified, not Weedon (*A.-S. Weodun*) Northants. Perhaps now Whaddon," *D. & S.*]

The little land in OTHER NIWANTUN.—Not identified (see above under "Niwantun æt thære wic.") Perhaps this Newton may be Newton Solney, which is a parish in the hundred of

Repton and Gresley, co. Derby, situate on the river Dove about 4 miles from Burton-on-Trent. ["Name too common to identify," D. & S.]

WINESHYLL.—Dugdale says Winshill, co. Staffs., *juxta* Tutbury: Shaw says Winsall, co. Derby, and Wolferstan passes this without comment. They probably all meant the same place, which is a township in the parish of Burton-on-Trent, but lies on the opposite side of the river. It was formerly in Derbyshire, but is now included in Staffordshire. (*D.* Wineshalle, *T.R.E.* Abbot of Burton.) [So too D. & S.]

SUTTUN.—Dugdale and Shaw both say Sutton, co. Derby, and Dugdale adds "*prope* Tutbury." There is a place called Sutton-on-the-hill, a parish in the Appletree hundred of Derbyshire, about 6 miles from Derby and considerably less from Tutbury (as well as the Sutton in Scarsdale hundred mentioned below), and this is doubtless the place intended. (*D.* Sudtun, within the soke of Ufra, *T.R.E.* Abbot of Burton.) [So too D. & S.]

TICENHEALE.—Ticknall, a parish in the hundred of Repton and Gresley, co. Derby, about 8 miles south from Derby. (*D.* Tichenhalle, *T.R.E.* Abbot of Burton, besides other tenants of land there.) Dugdale, Shaw [and D. & S.]

SCENGTUNE.—Shankton or Shangton, a parish in Gartree hundred, co. Leicester, 10 miles south-east from Leicester and 6 north-west from Market Harborough (*D.* Scentone). So Dugdale, Shaw and Nichols [also D. & S.]. There is also a place called Shenton, which is a hamlet in Market Bosworth parish and Sparkenhoe hundred in the same county.

WIGGESTANE.—This seems to be Little Wigston, a hamlet in Claybrooke parish and Guthlaxton hundred, co. Leicester, about 6 miles north-west from Lutterworth. There is also in the same hundred a parish called Great Wigston, 4 miles south-south-east from Leicester. Dugdale merely says Wigston, co. Leicester, but Shaw adds "near Sharnford," while Nichols identifies it as Little Wigston (see below under Scarnforda). (*D.* Wiceston, *T.R.E. qu.* the King and Aluric the priest under him.) [So also D. & S.]

HALEN.—This and the next three or four places have never been clearly identified, but most of them would probably lie in the same district. Wolferstan in one of his letters to the *Gentleman's Magazine* suggests that Halen might be either Hallam in Derbyshire, *i.e.* I presume West Hallam or Kirk Hallam, both parishes in the hundred of Morleston and Litchurch, co. Derby, some 5 or 6 miles east from Derby (*D. Halun and Halen, T.R.E.* Dunstan and Ulf fenise respectively), or Sheriff Hales partly in Staffordshire and partly in Shropshire (*D. Hales, T.R.E.* Earl Algar), or Hales Owen in Worcestershire (*D. Halam, T.R.E.* Olwin); and apparently he thinks the last the most probable. ["Kirk Hallam and West Hallam in Derbyshire may be represented here," *D. & S.*]

HREMESLEAGE.—This is probably Romsley, a liberty of the borough of Bridgenorth, but situate within the parish of Alveley, co. Salop, $8\frac{1}{2}$ miles south-east from Bridgenorth. So Dugdale, Shaw, Eyton [and *D. & S.*]. Or it may be Romsley, a township in Hales Owen parish, as Wolferstan suggests. Kemble and Thorpe both say Ramsley, co. Staffs., in which county the Shropshire Romsley was locally situate at the time of Domesday (*D. Rameslege, T.R.E.* Achi).

SCIPLEA.—Probably Shipley, near Claverley, co. Salop, 6 miles north-east from Bridgenorth. So Dugdale, Shaw, Eyton [and *D. & S.*]. In Domesday this place and Romsley, though really then in Staffordshire, are included with Earl Roger de Montgomery's Warwickshire lands and entered under that county (*D. Sciplei, T.R.E.* Alsi). Kemble and Thorpe both suggest Shipley, co. Derby, a parish in Morleston and Litchurch hundred, 7 miles north-east from Derby (*D. Scipelie, T.R.E.* Brun and Odincar).

SUTHTUNE.—Not (I think) identified by Dugdale or Shaw or even by Wolferstan, but Eyton suggests Sutton, a township in Claverley parish and Brimstree hundred, co. Salop, about 5 or 6 miles west from Bridgenorth. Is it not Sutton Maddock, a parish in Brimstree hundred, about 5 miles north from Bridgenorth (*D. Sudtone, T.R.E.* Earl Morcar)? The consecutive mention of the three names, Romsley, Shipley and Sutton confirms the view that they were all places in the same district,

and these all lie around Bridgenorth. ["Probably Sutton Maddock, $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles east (*qu.* north) of Bridgenorth," D. & S.]

ACTUNE.—Dugdale and Shaw suggest Acton in Staffordshire, referring probably to Acton Trussell, a hamlet in the parish of Baswick and hundred of Cuttleston, 3 miles north from Penkrige, and so too Duignan. But it may be one of the Shropshire Actons, possibly Acton Round, which is a parish in the hundred of Stottesden, 6 miles north-west from Bridgenorth (*D.* Achetune, *T.R.E.* Ulviet). ["Acton Burnell or Acton Pigott, 7 miles south-east of Shrewsbury," D. & S. (*qu.* *D.* Actune, *T.R.E.* Godric, or *D.* Æctune, *T.R.E.* Gheri).]

DEORLAFESTUN.—Darlaston, a hamlet in the parish of Stone and hundred of Pirehill, co. Staffs. So Dugdale, Shaw, Kemble and Duignan [also D. & S.] (*D.* Derlaveston, *T.R.E.* Abbot of Burton.) According to tradition this place was once the seat of Wulfhere, king of Mercia.

RUDEGEARD.—Rudyard, a hamlet in the parish of Leek and hundred of Totmonslow, co. Staffs. So Dugdale, Shaw, Duignan [and D. and S.]. (*D.* Rudier, *T.R.E.* Wlmer.)

My little land in COTEWALTUNE.—Not identified by Dugdale, but Shaw says Cotwalton near Stone in Staffordshire. [So too D. & S.] (*D.* Codewalle, under Modredeshale, *T.R.E.* Godeva; or else Cotewoldestune, *T.R.E.* Rafwin and Alwin.) Both Rudyard and Cotwalton are referred to in the Will as belonging to Darlaston: there is a hamlet at Cotwalton still called Spot or Spot Grange.

LEGE.—It is curious that this place was not identified by either Dugdale or Shaw. Wolverstan however says that it was in Staffordshire, and it is obviously Leigh, a parish in Totmonslow hundred, $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles north-west from Uttoxeter. It was still in the possession of Burton Abbey at the time of the Domesday Survey and afterwards when the Burton Abbey surveys were made. ["Leigh, near Uttoxeter," D. & S.]

ACOFRE.—Okeover, a parish in Totmonslow hundred, co. Staffs., 2 or 3 miles north-west from Ashbourne (*D.* Acovre, *T.R.E.* Abbot of Burton). So Dugdale, Shaw [and D. & S.].

HILUM.—Ilam, a parish in Totmonslow hundred, co. Staffs., near Okeover, 5 miles north-west from Ashbourne (not expressly named in Domesday). So Dugdale, Shaw [and D. & S.].

CELFDUM.—Caldon, near Okeover and in the same hundred of Staffordshire. (*D. Caldone, T.R.E. Godeva.*) So Shaw, Wolferstan, Duignan [and D. & S.].

CÆTESTHYRNE.—Casterne, a hamlet in the parish of Ilam. So Dugdale, Shaw, Duignan [and D. & S.].

Heregeat (heriot) land at SUTTUNE. This is the third place of that name mentioned in the Will. It has been identified by Dugdale and Shaw as Sutton in Scarsdale hundred, co. Derby, 3 miles south-east from Chesterfield. (*D. Sudtune, T.R.E. Steinulf.*) ["Presumably Sutton-in-the-Dale, co. Derby," D. & S.]

MORLEGA.—Morley, a parish in Morleston and Litchurch hundred, co. Derby, $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles north-east from Derby. So Dugdale, Shaw [and D. & S.]. (*D. Morleia, T.R.E. Siward.*)

BREADESHALE.—Breadsall, a parish in Appletree hundred, co. Derby, $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles north-east from Derby. So Dugdale, Shaw, Kemble [and D. & S.]. (*D. Braideshale, T.R.E. Siward.*)

MORTUN.—Not identified by Dugdale: Shaw says Moreton in Staffordshire, but Wolferstan puts a query against this without however making any other suggestion. The context seems to point clearly to Morton, a parish in Scarsdale hundred, co. Derby, $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles north from Alfreton. (*D. Mortun, T.R.E. Swain cilt.*) ["Morton, in Scarsdale hundred," D. & S.]

PYLLESLEAGE.—In all the printed copies of the Will purporting to be taken from the Burton Abbey Register this name is written Wyllesleage, and both Dugdale and Shaw identified the place as Wilsley or Willesley in Derbyshire, which is a parish in the hundred of Repton and Gresley, $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles south-west from Ashby-de-la-Zouche. But it is described in the Will as belonging to Mortun, and Wolferstan, ingeniously and beyond all question correctly, suggested that the place intended is not Wilsley but Pilsley, a hamlet in the parish of North Wingfield in the Scarsdale hundred of the same county lying between Morton and Wingfield. (*D. Pinneslei, T.R.E. Swain cilt.*) In a MS. note to his own copy of Shaw's

Staffordshire he gives the passage from the Will in the original Anglo-Saxon characters shewing the resemblance between the letters W and P (*not* capital letters), and his suggestion is confirmed by the context. For a similar confusion between these letters I may refer to the *Chronicle of Abingdon Monastery*, Rolls Ser., No. 2, pt. 1, p. 62, "Widwillan" and "Pidwillan," and other instances are given in Wolferstan's letter to the *Gentleman's Magazine* already referred to. [All doubt that might have existed is set at rest by the facsimile of the earlier copy of the Will, where the letter is clearly not W but P, as pointed out by Mr. Duignan and Mr. Stevenson. I may add that, although I have not checked my copy of the Will with the copy in the Burton Abbey Register, I have looked at the summary of places given there in the copy of the confirmatory charter, and here too the letter is clearly P, and I have little doubt that it was the seventeenth-century transcriber who is solely responsible for the error.]

OGGODESTUN.—Dugdale and Shaw merely say Ogston in Derbyshire. It seems to be a place near Morton, and there is near there a place called Ogston Hall, which is marked on the Ordnance Map. (*D. Oughedestun, T.R.E. Swain cilt.*) [So too D. & S.]

WINNEFELD.—Dugdale and Shaw say Wingfield in Derbyshire. There are two places of that name in the Scarsdale hundred, *viz.* North Wingfield, 4 miles south-east from Chesterfield, and South Wingfield, 5 miles east from Worksworth and 2½ west from Alfreton. (*D. Winefeld, T.R.E. Elnod.*) ["Either or both" of these, D. & S.]

SNODESWIC (into Mortune).—Not identified by Dugdale. Shaw says Snodderswic in Staffordshire, to which Wolferstan's annotation is "probably Derbyshire." There can, I think, be no doubt that this is the place entered in Domesday as Esnotrewic in Derbyshire (*T.R.E. Aldene*); and in the *Victoria County History* for that county it is stated that Esnotrewic has been identified with Pinxton, near South Normanton, on the Nottinghamshire border. [So too D. & S.]

TATHAWYLLAN.—Not identified by Dugdale or Shaw, but Wolferstan suggests Tathwell in the Lincolnshire flats, which is

a parish in Louth-Esk hundred, Lindley division, 3 miles south from Louth (*qu. D. Tadewella, T.R.E. Seward?*). If so, it is the only place in Lincolnshire mentioned in the Will, but I know of no other place of any such name elsewhere. [So also D. & S.]

ÆPPEBYG.—Great Appleby, a parish formerly situate partly in Derbyshire, but now altogether in Leicestershire, Sparkenhoe hundred, 6 miles south-west from Ashby-de-la-Zouche. So Dugdale, Shaw, Nichols [and D. & S.]. The part belonging to Burton Abbey is entered in Domesday under Derbyshire as Apleby.

WESTUNE.—Dugdale and Shaw both identify this as Weston in Derbyshire; Wolferstan thinks Weston-in-Arden in Warwickshire, while Duignan prefers Weston-on-Trent in Staffordshire. There are more than one Weston in Derbyshire, *e.g.* Weston-on-Trent in Morleston and Litchurch hundred, and Weston-under-Wood, a hamlet in the parish of Mugginton in the same hundred. But perhaps in view of the context Wolferstan's suggestion seems the most probable one (*D. Westone, T.R.E. Sexi*). There are of course many other Westons besides, including Weston-under-Wheathley in Warwickshire, Knightlow hundred, 3 miles from Southern, and several Westons in Staffordshire.

BURHTUN.—Dugdale supposed this to be Burton-on-Trent again, but this seems most improbable, especially as Burton-on-Trent is throughout the Will spelt Byrtone. Wolferstan with much greater probability suggests Burton Hastings in Knightlow hundred, co. Warwick (*D. Bortone, T.R.E. Lewin*), which is $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles south-east from Nuneaton and not far from Weston-in-Arden. [“Perhaps Burton Hastings,” D. & S.]

SCEARNFORDA (into Wiggestune).—Sharnford, a parish in Sparkenhoe hundred, co. Leicester, 4 miles south-east from Hinckley and not far from Little Wigston. So Dugdale, Shaw, Nichols [and D. & S.]. (*D. either Scerneford, T.R.E. Countess Judith, or Scerneforde, T.R.E. the King and Turchil under him (?)*.)

HEREBURGEBYRIG.—Harbury or Harberbury, a parish in Knightlow hundred, co. Warwick, 3 miles south-west from Southam. (*D. Erburgeberie, T.R.E. Ordric*.) So Dugdale and Shaw: Duignan thought Harborough in the same county, [but

see D. & S., where Harbury is adopted, and the etymology of the word given as Hereburh's burh (*i.e.* fort, *cf.* borough)].

EALDESWYRTHE.—Dugdale and Shaw both say Aldsworth, co. Notts, *i.e.* Awsworth, a chapelry in the parish of Nuttall and Broxtow wapentake, $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles north-west from Nottingham. (*D.* Eldesvorde, *T.R.E.* Vlchete.) There is however another Aldsworth, which to me seems more likely to be the one intended, if I am right about the next place: this Aldsworth is a parish in the hundred of Brightwell's Barrow, co. Gloucester, $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles south-east from North Leach. (*D.* Aldesweorde, *T.R.E.* Balchi.) ["Awsworth, formerly Aldsworth, Notts," D. & S.]

ÆLFREDINGTUNE.—Dugdale, Shaw and Kemble all say Alfreton in Derbyshire, which is a market town in the hundred of Scarsdale, 6 miles south from Chesterfield, which however in Domesday is written Elstretune. (*T.R.E.* Earl Morcar.) [So also D. & S.] But should not this rather be Alvington, a parish in the hundred of Bledisloe, co. Gloucester (*D.* Alvredintune, *T.R.E.* Chenvichelle, king's thegn)? It should be remembered that Ealdeswurthe and Ælfredingtune were exchanged in 1008 by Abbot Wulfgeat with king Æthelred for Rolleston in Staffordshire because they were very far away ("valde longe erant") from the monastery; and Alfreton in Derbyshire was no further off than, indeed not so far as, several other places included in the gift to the monks of Burton Abbey.

ECCLESHALE.—Dugdale says Eccleshall in Scarsdale, co. Derby, and Shaw also says Eccleshall, co. Derby. Wolferstan suggests Eccleshall in Yorkshire. I have not succeeded in finding any Eccleshall in Derbyshire, but Ecclesall Bierlow, a township 3 miles south-west from and in the parish of Sheffield, co. York, is only just over the border, and I think that this must be the place intended by them all. Kemble suggests Exhall, co. Warwick, which is 4 miles north from Coventry, but does not appear to be mentioned in Domesday, though there was a place in this county called Egleshalle (*T.R.E.* Swain), the locality of which has been placed near Alcester on the Icknield Street. Eccleshall in Staffordshire (*D.* Ecleshale, *T.R.E.* St. Chad) was held by the Bishop of Lichfield, and there-

fore seems unlikely. ["Not identified. It may be Eccleshall in Staffordshire, and there is no likely name elsewhere," D. & S.]

WADDUNE.—Not identified by Dugdale. Shaw says Whatton or Long Whaddon in Leicestershire, which is a parish in West Goscote hundred, 4 miles north-west from Loughborough. Wolferstan, with more probability as it seems to me, suggests Wetton in Staffordshire, which is in Totmonslow hundred, near Dove Dale on the Derbyshire border, a little way to the south of Hartington and $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles north-west from Ashbourne. ["Long Whatton, co. Leicester," D. & S.]

One hide at SCEON. Dugdale and Shaw both say Shene in Derbyshire, Wolferstan Sheen in Staffordshire. Kemble and Earle both suggest Sheen in Surrey, which is most improbable. I cannot find any Shene in Derbyshire, but on the Staffordshire side of and near to the river Dove, which there forms the boundary between the two counties, there is a parish of that name in Totmonslow hundred, between Longnor and Hartington: it used to be a chapelry belonging to the mother church of Ilam and was held by the monks of Burton. (*D. Sceon, T.R.E. Alward.*)

To Tamworth convent:—

LANGANDUNE.—Dugdale and Shaw both say Longdon in Staffordshire. There is a hamlet of that name in the parish of Leek and hundred of Totmonslow, and also a parish of the same name in Offlow hundred, 4 miles north-west from Lichfield. As the legatee is Tamworth convent, I presume that the latter of the two Longdons is the one intended by them, and this appears to me to be most probably correct. So too Duignan. ["May be Longdon-on-Tern, 4 miles from Wellington, Salop. Not Longdon near Lichfield," D. & S.]

To the Bishop, *i.e.* the Bishop of Lichfield (or Chester):—

BUBANDUNE.—Dugdale and Shaw both identify this as Bubbington in Staffordshire; Thorpe translated it Bubden, but without mentioning the county. Bobbington is a place in Claverley parish, which is in Shropshire, but it is itself situated in the Seisdon hundred of Staffordshire, between Bridgenorth

and Enville (*D. Bubintone, T.R.E. Wlfare*). Bubden, now called Bupton, is a place in Longford parish, co. Derby, 6 miles south from Ashbourne (*D. Bubedene, T.R.E. Bishop of Chester*). The reference to the Bishop shews that this latter is the true identification. [So D. & S.]

To the testator's god-daughter, the daughter of Morcar and Ealdgyth :—

STRÆTTUNE.—Presumably a different Stretton from that previously mentioned, which was given to Burton Abbey. As Aldulfestreo (Austrey, in the extreme north corner of Warwickshire,) was given to Morcar's wife, I would suggest that this may be Stretton-le-field, formerly in the Repton and Gresley hundred of Derbyshire but now in Leicestershire, 8 miles from Burton-on-Trent and near the Warwickshire border. (*D. Streiton, T.R.E. Æluric.*)

This concludes the long list of places mentioned in the Will. Of the 43 that are also enumerated in king Æthelred's charter of confirmation to Burton Abbey only about a dozen were in the possession of those monks at the time of Domesday, and it has been supposed that the others were taken away from them at the time of the Norman Conquest (see *Staff. Coll.*, Vol. V, Part 2, p. 1). I do not know whether there is any evidence of this beyond the brief statement in the *Chronica Abbatum* that William the Conqueror's donations to the Abbey were in return for "other lands" which he took away from them : but I cannot find any support for it in Domesday itself. We know that the Norman Conqueror did endow Burton Abbey with other manors, *e.g.* Mickleover with its berewicks Littleover, Findern and Potlac, and also Cauldwell and Coton and certain property in the town of Derby. But all the places given to the monks by Wulfric, which were not in the possession of the Abbot of Burton when the Domesday Survey was compiled, so far at least as these have been identified, are there entered as having been in the time of king Edward (the Confessor) held by various private owners with Saxon or Danish names ; and the natural inference is that the confiscation took place at some earlier date, probably at the time of the conquests by the Danes

under Swegn and Cnut, before the latter became so generous a benefactor to Saxon monasteries. We may well believe that a monastery just founded by king Æthelred's minister, Wulfric, would be regarded by the Danish conquerors as a fair field for plunder, especially as most of the Abbey possessions lay to the north of the Watling Street, which had long formed the boundary between the Saxon province of Mercia and the Dane-lagh.

And so I take my leave of the founder of Burton Abbey. If I am right in the conclusions which I have drawn from the documentary evidence before us, it is surely a striking figure that seems to rise before our eyes in shadowy outline through the mists of the nine centuries that have elapsed since his death. This man of noble birth, in whose veins ran the blood of the house of Cerdic of Wessex as well as that of the old Mercian kings,—the trusted councillor of his sovereign, and lord of some 70 or 80 midland manors besides the north-western territory over which he seems to have ruled,—first denuding himself of his vast territorial possessions, presumably with the intention of ending his days amid the peaceful surroundings of the monastery which he had founded and so liberally endowed, and then in the hour of his country's stress coming back to the world of strife to die fighting his country's battle against the Danes, not apparently at the head of his own (former) Mercian vassals and retainers, but as a free-lance on an East Anglian battlefield.¹ Matthew of Paris, in referring to the foundation of Burton Abbey, describes him as "*vir magnæ sanctitatis et auctoritatis sibi providens futura perpendendo*" (Rolls. Ser., No. 57, i. 480). May we not see in him a prophetic embodiment of all that was best in the spirit of the Crusaders—a true soldier of the Cross and worthy descendant of the greatest of our Anglo-Saxon kings?

¹ See however another explanation by Mr. W. H. Stevenson, which I have given in my Supplementary Note at the foot of this paper.

NOTE A.—The title “comes” in England in the tenth century A.D.

The title “comes” is not of frequent occurrence amongst the names of witnesses attesting king Æthelred’s charters, but we do find copies of two or three charters of that period in which it purports to have been used. The first of these in true chronological order is Archbishop Sigeric’s confirmation of Wulfrun’s benefactions to the monastery at Wolverhampton. It is given by Dugdale in the *Monasticon Anglicanum* (ed. 1655, i. 991; ed. 1817, vi. 1443) “ex ipso autographo” [*qu.* the original charter?] then (1640) in the possession of the Dean and Chapter of Windsor (with which the Deanery of Wolverhampton had been united in the reign of Edward IV.), and Dugdale says that the date there given was DCCCCcxvj, which he corrects to DCCCCxcvj; but it is clear that the true date should be DCCCCxciv, as shewn not only by the reference to the indiction, but also by the fact that Sigeric archbishop of Canterbury died in October 994 (Stubbs’s *Reg. Sacr. Ang.*, pp. 30, 31; cf. Palgrave’s *English Commonwealth*, II. cccxix). Here the witnesses include five “duces,” one “comes” (Ethelmer), and five “ministri”; and in this case it can be shewn by comparison with several charters of that period, both in and after 994, that Æthelmer was then not an ealdorman but one of the principal “ministri” or king’s thegns. Later on he succeeded his father Æthelweard (the Chronicler) as ealdorman of Devonshire (*Cod. Dip.*, No. 714), and he is called “comes Domnaniæ” in 1013 by Florence of Worcester. He was descended from king Æthelred I., as we know from his father’s Chronicle, and he was the founder of Eynsham Abbey in 1005. The second instance is the foundation charter of St. Frideswide’s (now Christ Church), Oxford, dated 1004, which has been printed in several works (see especially Parker’s *Early History of Oxford*, Oxf. Hist. Soc., Vol 3, pp. 142–148, 320; Wigram’s *Cartulary of St. Frideswide*, *Ibid.*, Vol. 28, p. 2). In this case, according to Parker’s edition, following the *Monasticon* and the *Codex Diplomaticus*, the witnesses include two “duces,” ten “comites,” and one “minister”; but in Wigram’s edition all the “comites” appear as “ministri.” Owing to the conciseness of the statements in these two editions it is not altogether easy to trace the

two versions back to their original sources, but (as I understand it) the ultimate authority for the word "comes" is a codex which in 1652 was in the possession of Dr. Langbane, Provost of Queen's College, Oxford. The fifteenth century transcript in the Christ Church Cartulary (fo. 7), the fourteenth century transcript in the Corpus Christi Cartulary (fo. 271), and the Oseney Register at the British Museum (fo. 5), from which last Dugdale's version was taken, all apparently stop short of these witnesses' names. The second edition of the *Monasticon* supplied the witnesses' names from Dr. Langbane's Codex, and Kemble copied them from the *Monasticon*. Parker must I think have got them from the same source; for, although he refers to a transcript in the Christ Church Cartulary (fo. 25) of an Inspeximus Charter of Edward I., I gather from Wigram's edition that this Inspeximus Charter was really not by Edward I., but by Edward II., and that it is the one to be found in the Charter Roll of 6 Edward II., No. 21, m. 10. I have referred to the Charter Roll itself and find that the word there is not "comes," but "m̄," *i.e.* minister. In the Charter Rolls of 6 Edward III., No. 17, m. 10, and 3 Ric. II., No. 17, m. 19, and the Patent Roll of 5 Hen. V., m. 3, the same word is used; but this carries the matter no further, for each of these Inspeximus charters was merely an Inspeximus of the previous one, and that of Edward II. is the only one in which the original charter by king Æthelred is stated to have been inspected. This charter of Edward II. is dated 5 Feb. 1313, and the Charter Roll for that year appears to be the most authoritative source now extant for Æthelred's charter. If however the word "comes" was in fact used in the original charter of Æthelred, it was clearly applied here not to ealdormen but to king's thegns, for most of these witnesses attested also king Æthelred's confirmatory charter to Burton Abbey that same year, as well as other contemporary charters, as "ministri." The third instance is a charter in favour of St. Albans Abbey (*Cod. Dip.*, iii. 248, No. 672), to which Kemble assigns the date 990, but the real date of which is clearly 1005: this appears not only from the names of the episcopal witnesses (Wulfstan was archbishop of York 1003-1023, Ælfheah bishop of Winchester 984-1005, and Ælfhelm bishop of Dorchester 1002-1005), but actually from

the charter itself "decursis annis ab incarnatione Christi DCCCXC nouenis terque binis in cursu millenarii equidem sexto." Here the lay witnesses include three "comites" (Ælfric, Ælfhelm and Leofwine) and several "ministri," and we know from another charter dated in 997 (*Cod. Dip.*, iii. 299-304, No. 698) that Ælfric was ealdorman of the "Wentanienses provinciæ" (*i.e.* Central Wessex, including Hampshire, Wiltshire and Berkshire), Ælfhelm ealdorman of the "Northanhumbrenses provinciæ" (*i.e.* Deira, or Yorkshire) and Leofwine ealdorman of the "Wicciæ provinciæ" (*i.e.* Worcestershire, Gloucestershire and most of Warwickshire); so that in this case the title "comes" was clearly applied to ealdormen.

The instances given above are confined to the period of Æthelred's reign: other instances could of course be found during the preceding reigns either amongst the names of witnesses to or in the body of the charters. Thus, we find Ælfgar described as "comes" in 949, as "dux" in 956, and as "consul" in 961 (*Cart. Sax.*, Nos. 883, 957, 1074). He was probably ealdorman of the Western Provinces, *i.e.* Devonshire, Somersetshire and Dorsetshire, as we know that he died in the year 962 in Devonshire, though he was buried at Wilton (*Ang.-Sax. Chron.*). We also know that he was a kinsman of the king (*Ibid.*; and *Cart. Sax.*, No. 1035; *Cod. Dip.*, No. 1214). So too Æthelstan the half-king, ealdorman of East Anglia 929-956, who was also of the royal stock and probably descended from king Æthelred I., elder brother of king Ælfred, is sometimes described as "comes" (*Cart. Sax.*, Nos. 728, 776, 799, 815, 924). His brother Eadric, who signs as "dux" between 942 and 949 (*Ib.*, Nos. 777, 875) appears twice as "comes" (*Ib.*, Nos. 781, 834). Æthelstan's son Æthelwine, who was ealdorman of East Anglia 975-992, is called "comes" in 966 (*Ib.*, No. 1191), and two of Æthelwine's wives are each styled "comitissa" (*Ib.*, Nos. 1059, 1060). Another son Ælfweald appears as "Alfwoldus comes frater Ælwini ealdormanni" (a very significant collocation of titles), and his wife Ælfhild as "comitissa" (*Ib.*, No. 1061; *Cod. Dip.*, No. 968). Ælfhere, the ealdorman of Mercia 956-983, who is also known to be of the king's kin, is frequently styled "comes" as well as "dux," in some cases signing as "comes" in the middle of the "duces" (*Cart. Sax.*,

Nos. 949, 950). His brother Ælfheah, ealdorman of Hampshire 957-971, is called "comes" in one charter in 967 (*Ib.*, No. 1196; *Cod. Dip.*, No. 537). Ælfhere's son Ælfric cild, who succeeded him as ealdorman of Mercia in 983, is also styled "comes" in the following year (*Cod. Dip.*, No. 646). It should be noticed that in every one of these cases the person so styled was a scion of the royal house. I may add that one of the witnesses to the Will of Æthelgifu c. 944-946 (*Cart. Sax.*, No. 812; *Cod. Dip.*, No. 410) is "Wulgarus comes," and, as his name comes next after Eadgar ætheling and before all the "duces," it is reasonable to assume that he too was of the royal stock. Besides these we find the title "comes" applied to Alcinus, Aigulfus and Radbodus (of whom I know nothing) in 948 (*Cart. Sax.*, No. 872), to Alhhelm in 949 (*Ib.*, No. 883), and to Byrhtnoth the East Saxon ealdorman in 964 and 966 (*Ib.*, Nos. 1134, 1136, 1191); while in one charter of 974 Oslac, "the great earl" of Deira and the Danelagh, signs as "comes et prefectus" (*Ib.*, No. 1321). Two centuries earlier a similar combination of titles is used in the case of Ecgbald and Esme (*Ib.*, Nos. 199, 244), and there is also a grant to Bica "comiti meo et ministro" (*Ib.*, No. 225).

From all the instances above given I find it difficult to draw any other conclusion than this, that in the tenth century "comes" was a title of honour rather than of office, and usually at any rate applied to persons of noble birth, especially the king's kin.¹

It may perhaps be thought that this note on the meaning of the title "comes" has led me rather wide of the subject of my paper, but it has I think a real bearing on the credibility of the monastic record in which this title is accorded to Wulfric, and a mere statement by me as to my understanding of the word, without shewing the facts upon which my conclusion is based, would be of no value whatever.

NOTE B.—Wulfric's royal descent.

The argument for the suggested descent of Wulfric Spot from king Ælfred, through his daughter Æthelflæd the Lady of the Mercians, may be put as follows:—

¹ See also Chadwick's *Studies on Anglo-Saxon Institutions*, pp. 318, 327, which I had not seen when this note was written.

We know from the *Chronica Abbatum* of Burton that Wulfric Spot was mortally wounded at the battle near Ipswich in 1010, and from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* that the Wulfric who fell there was the son of Leofwine. The Dumbleton charter of 995 shews that his mother's name was Wulfrun, and apparently that she too was of noble parentage. The *Chronica Abbatum* further tells us that he was a "consul ac comes Merciorum" and nearly related to the royal line. The proximity of Wolverhampton to many of the places mentioned in Wulfric's will suggests that his mother may have been identical with the noble benefactress of Wolverhampton monastery in or before 994¹; and the mention in the same will of Tamworth, where once stood the royal palace of the old Mercian kings, affords strong ground for identifying her also with the lady who was taken prisoner by the Danes during the sack of Tamworth in 943.

Now let us turn back and begin from the other end. King Ælfred married in 868 Ealhswith, the daughter of a Mercian earl and a descendant through her mother of the Mercian kings; and their eldest daughter Æthelflæd married the Mercian Æthered or Æthelred, who as far back as 884 at any rate is described as "Merciorum gentis ducatum gubernans." It was upon this son-in-law and daughter jointly that the king bestowed the government of the province of Mercia; and in various charters Æthelred is styled "ealdorman" "dux" and "subregulus et patricius" of the Mercians (Birch's *Cart. Sax.*, Nos. 547, 552, 561, 574, 608, etc.), while Æthelflæd is called "Myrcnæ hlæfdiga" and "dux" "domina" and "gubernacula regens Merciorum" (*Ib.*, Nos. 583, 608, 616, 632). Æthelred died in 911 or 912, and his widow died at Tamworth in the eighth year of her sole rule in 918 or 919 (according to some authorities 920 or 922), leaving an only daughter Ælfwyn their sole heir (*Ang.-Sax. Chron.*; Florence of Worcester, *sub annis*). In 907, during their joint rule, they had rebuilt the city of Legaceaster (*i.e.* Legionum Castrum or Civitas,

¹ There is however a difficulty about this identification, if I am right in thinking that Morcar's wife Ealdgyth was a sister of Wulfric Spot; for Wulfrun's charter to Wolverhampton refers to an *only* daughter, Elfthrith, then already dead. A similar difficulty would arise in identifying the Wolverhampton benefactress with the other Wulfrun, the wife of Ælfhelm, whose daughter married Cnut.

the old name for Chester), a place which a few years before, in 894, is described in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* as situate in Wirral, and must not be confused with Leicester, also sometimes written Legaceaster, though more properly Legraceaster or Ligoraceaster from the river Legra or Leire, which flows past it (William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, §§ 172, 176, Rolls Ser., No. 52, pp. 308, 311). In 1913, after her husband's death, Æthelflæd restored the castle of Tamworth, where she afterwards died, as well as building several other fortresses elsewhere, and in 917 and 918 shortly before her own death she had wrested Derby from the Danes and received the submission of Leicester and the people of York as well (*Ang.-Sax. Chron.*). Soon after her death her brother king Eadweard the Elder took over the government of Mercia into his own hands and carried off his niece Ælfwyn into Wessex, but I can find no sufficient reason for supposing that he confiscated her estates. It is said by Caradoc, the Welsh historian, that Ælfwyn had been engaged to Regnald the Danish king of Northumbria, but there is no evidence that they were actually married, and it seems far more likely that her uncle carried her off in order to marry her to one of his own Wessex noblemen, as indeed is stated as a fact in Nichols' *Leicestershire* (i. 15), though the authority for the statement is not given.¹ Her subsequent history is unknown, and from this point for several years we have very little information as to the government of Mercia under the Anglo-Saxon kings. Eadweard the Elder was succeeded in 924 by his son Æthelstan, and he in 940 by his half-brother Eadmund. During Eadmund's reign in 943, when Tamworth was sacked by the Danes under Anlaf or Olaf (Sihtric's son) and Regnald, "during the pillage was Wulfrun taken," no other name being mentioned in the chronicle. King Eadmund died in 946, and was succeeded by his brother Eadred. On Eadred's death in 955 the crown devolved upon his nephew Eadwig, his predecessor's eldest son, whose brother Eadgar became *subregulus* of Mercia. Two years later the Mercians rebelled against Eadwig and chose Eadgar as their king, and on Eadwig's death in 959 Eadgar became king of all

¹ Green (*Conquest of England*, p. 208) states that she was sent to a nunnery, but I can find no evidence whatever of this.

England. During the reigns of Eadmund, Eadred, Eadwig and Eadgar there was a minister or king's thegn of the name of Wulfric, who received a large number of royal grants of land, chiefly in Berkshire, Wiltshire, Hampshire and Sussex, but including one (*Cart. Sax.*, No. 1021) of land at Alduluestreow (Austrey in Warwickshire), one of the places mentioned in Wulfric Spot's will: in one of these grants the grantee is described as "cuidem meorum principum" and in another as "cuidam uni meorum procerum" (*Ib.*, Nos. 926, 962). It seems to me more than likely that, if Ælfwyn the Mercian heiress did marry, it may have been this Wessex nobleman who was honoured with her hand.

In the year 956 king Eadwig and his brother Eadgar, the "subregulus" of the Mercians, appear to have joined in appointing Ælfhere to be ealdorman of Mercia, and in that year Ælfhere attests a large number of royal charters as "dux," but there are at least three (*Ib.*, Nos. 941, 949, and 950) which he attests as "comes," signing above some of the "duces," and he receives more than one grant of land under the same style (*Ib.*, No. 946; *Cod Dip.*, No. 437), while in the previous year he attests one charter as "ex parentela regis minister" (*Cart. Sax.*, No. 917); this last charter is also attested by Ælfheah "frater ejus minister," as well as by Leofwine "propinquus regis minister," who signs before either of the other two at the head of the "ministri" and next after five "duces." Ælfhere died in 983, and was succeeded as ealdorman of Mercia by his son Ælfric, sometimes called "Ælfric cild" or "Ælfric puer," who was banished in 985 (*Ang.-Sax. Chron.*). The subsequent history of Ælfric of Mercia is involved in some obscurity, caused partly by the fact that there were two contemporary ealdormen of the same name, the other being Ælfric ealdorman of Hampshire or Central Wessex. One of these Ælfrics, then "major regiæ domus," had a brother named Eadwine, for whom he procured the abbey of Abingdon in 985, and who after nearly six years' rule, during which he squandered the abbey possessions, died in 990 (*Ang.-Sax. Chron.*; Florence of Worcester; *sub annis*): and we have it on the authority of the History of that monastery (Rolls Ser., No. 2, i. 357) that this was the son of Ælfhere the Mercian ealdorman, though the name is by an obvious clerical error given there as "Edricus" instead of

"Alfricus."¹ On the same authority we learn that this Ælfric on his banishment retired to Denmark, but returned soon after in company with the Danes, who ravaged the country: and the first charter of restitution by king Æthelred to Abingdon monastery seems to shew that this Ælfric was still living in 993 (*Ib.*, i. 360). Sir James Ramsay, although he identifies the Ælfric, who together with archbishop Sigeric advised payment of the first Danegeld in 991, and who shewed cowardice if not treachery when in command of the English forces in 1003, with the Hampshire ealdorman, thinks that it was Ælfric of Mercia who with earl Thored (of Deira) and the bishops of London and Dorchester was put in command of the ships assembled in the Thames to oppose the Danes in 992 and who then deserted to the enemy (*Foundations of England*, i. 339-341, 355): but it is difficult to believe that at this time Ælfric of Mercia still retained any influence with the king. At any rate we hear no more of him after 993. In that year by order of the king Ælfgar, the son of ealdorman Ælfric, was deprived of his eyesight (*Ang.-Sax. Chron.*); and it seems more probable that it was the banished ealdorman's son who suffered this cruel treatment, not uncommon in those days, especially where the object was to incapacitate the victim for the exercise of any high office. With the banishment of Ælfric, the death of abbot Eadwine, and the blinding of Ælfgar the direct line of Ælfhere of Mercia (so far as it is known to us) would be exhausted.

Ælfhere's brother Ælfheah (or Ælfage), who received grants of land both from king Eadwig and from king Eadgar as "minister ac propinquus regis" (*Cart. Sax.*, Nos. 948, 1030, 1085), was made ealdorman of Central Wessex, including Hampshire, Berkshire and Wiltshire, in or about 956, in which year he begins to attest royal charters as "dux" (*Ib.*, Nos. 979, 982), and in the following year besides attesting two other charters he has a grant of land in Berkshire under the same style (*Ib.*, Nos. 994, 1004 and 1005). Ælfheah died in 971, and appears to have been succeeded in his ealdormanry either immediately or after a short interval by Æthelmær. Ælfheah's will is printed in Birch's *Cartularium Saxonicum*, where it is numbered 1174 (*cf.* Kemble's

¹ Napier and Stevenson (*Early Charters*, pp. 120, 121), however, do not accept this identification as correct.

Cod. Dip., No. 593, and Thorpe's *Diplomatorium*, p. 526). In it he mentions his brother Ælfhere (the ealdorman of Mercia), his own sons Godwine and Ælfweard, and his sister's son Ælfwine. Æthelmær, who attests charters as "dux" between the years 977 and 982 (*Cod. Dip.*, Nos. 611, 621, 624, 626, 629 and 632), and whose death as ealdorman of Hampshire is recorded in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle under the year 982, may perhaps have been Ælfheah's eldest son, though he is not mentioned in his will; and, if so, it is probable that Godwine, whose name as "dux" appears among the attestations to one (but I believe only one) charter that same year (*Ib.*, No. 633), was his successor and the son of that name mentioned in Ælfheah's will. From 983 onwards for many years this ealdormanry was held by the other Ælfric, whose cowardice, if not treachery, was responsible for more than one Danish victory in after years.¹ There is no reason that I know of for supposing that this Ælfric was related to any of his predecessors in the Hampshire ealdormanry or to any of the Mercian ealdormen; possibly he may be the same person as "Ælfric Sirafes sunu" mentioned in conjunction with his brother Brihtric as well as Ælfric cild in the History of Abingdon Monastery (Rolls Ser., No. 2, i. 355). In all probability Ælfheah's line was then extinct.

Besides Ælfheah there was another brother of Ælfhere, named Ælfwine, who was living in the reign of Eadgar, that is in or before 975 (*Cart. Sax.*, No. 562, endorsement), and I suspect that it was this Ælfwine who in 968 had a grant of 10 manses in Boxora (*i.e.* Boxford, co. Berks), which ten years before had been granted by king Eadred to his minister Wulfric (*Ib.*, Nos. 1022, 1227), and who in 975 obtained from king Eadgar a grant of land at Eastun for the king's minister Ealhhelm, being described in this grant as "venerabilis propinquus et monachus" (*Ib.*, No. 1315; *Cod. Dip.*, No. 590).

¹ Green (*Conquest of England*, pp. 377, 378 and 397, and notes) takes up the cudgels on behalf of Ælfric, as he also does later on behalf of the still more notorious ealdorman Eadric Streona (*Ib.*, pp. 398, 400, 415, 417), treating the statements of Florence of Worcester as purely legendary and not to be trusted. But even apart from Florence, who wrote little more than a century after the events, it is difficult to explain the account given in the Chronicle itself in any other way.

Not long after the banishment of Ælfric cild the ealdorman of Mercia in 985, and in any case not later than 993, the great Mercian ealdormanry appears to have been broken up into smaller districts. Sir James Ramsay (*Foundations of England*, i. 336) suggests that Ælfric must have been for a time received into royal favour again because of a charter by archbishop Oswald, dated apparently in 989 and expressed to be made with the consent of Ælfric ealdorman of the Mercians (*Cod. Dip.*, No. 670). But I think it will be found that 989 was the date, not of Oswald's charter, but of the schedule to it, which was drawn up some years later on the death of Gardulf, the grantee and one of the three lives referred to in the charter; and, unless it was the Mercian Ælfric who was put in command of the naval forces with Earl Thored in 992, I cannot find any evidence of his ever having been restored to the royal favour after his banishment: he does not appear to have attested any charter after 984. In 985 we apparently find the names of three new "duces," Ordbyrht, Siric, and Leofric, among the witnesses (*Cod. Dip.*, No. 650), in 986 a fourth, Ælfsige (*Ib.*, No. 654), and in 987 two more, Ælfweard and another Leofric (*Ib.*, No. 658). Ordbyrht's name occurs again as "dux" in 986 and 987 (*Ib.*, Nos. 655, 658), and that of Leofric in 987 and 994 (*Ib.*, Nos. 658, 686). If one could really be sure that the description of these witnesses as "duces" was accurate, it would be reasonable to suppose that some of them at any rate were ealdormen of the districts into which Mercia had been broken up, as the only other ealdormanry unaccounted for at this period seems to be Sussex, whose ealdorman Eadwine died in 982; and indeed such an inference has been drawn by Sir James Ramsay (*Foundations of England*, i. 335-6). But a comparison of these charters with a large number of others of about that date (especially those numbered 636, 638, 639, 640, 648, 657, 664, 665, 673, 684) has satisfied me that there is a mistake here in the descriptions, and that all these witnesses were really not "duces" but "abbates." Ordbyrht was abbot of Chertsey from 964 to 989, when he became bishop of Selsey (*Ang.-Sax. Chron.*). Siric or Sigeric, who had been abbot of Abingdon since 977 (*Ib.*), was appointed bishop of Ramsbury that same year (985) and archbishop of Canterbury in 990 (*Ib.*). Leofric would be the abbot of

Michelney in Somersetshire, Ælfsige of Newminster at Winchester, Ælfweard of Glastonbury, and the other Leofric of St. Albans (*cf. Cod. Dip.*, Nos. 684, 698). Then in 993 we have a charter attested by Ælfhelm, and in 994 another attested by Leofwine, in each case as "dux" (*Ib.*, Nos. 684, 686); and their names continue as witnesses until the death of Ælfhelm in 1006: in one charter, in 994, we have them both, and Leofsiges, Northman and Waltheof, as well (*Ib.*, No. 687). Of these we know that Ælfhelm was ealdorman of the Northumbrian provinces, *i.e.* Deira or Yorkshire, Leofwine of the Hwiccas provinces, *i.e.* the diocese of Worcester, and Leofsiges of the East Saxons (*Ib.*, No. 698): Waltheof was ealdorman of the other part of Northumbria, *i.e.* Bernicia. Of Northman we know nothing for certain, but he may possibly have been Wulfric's predecessor in the north-west and midlands. In or before 1004 Wulfric Spot made his will, by which he disposes of the lands between the Ribble and the Mersey and in Wirral and a large number of villas in the midlands, including the old royal borough of Tamworth, while he is called by his monastic chronicler "consul ac comes Merciorum" and "regali propinquus prosapiae." In 1007, after the murder of Ælfhelm at Shrewsbury at the instigation of Eadric Streona, the son-in-law of Æthelred, (and probably with the connivance of that king, who seems to have appropriated his estates, for in 1008 he exchanged Rolleston in Staffordshire with Wulfgeat the abbot of Burton for two other more distant manors,) the Mercian ealdormanry was revived in favour of Eadric, though the Hwiccas provinces once included in it appear to have been retained by Leofwine, who subsequently on Eadric's death in 1016 was appointed by king Cnut to succeed him in the Mercian ealdormanry.

I think that this is a fair summary of the facts so far as known to us. Is it not a legitimate, or at any rate a plausible, inference from them that Ælfhere, who was made ealdorman of Mercia in 956, was also its hereditary lord and in all probability the eldest son and representative of Ælfwyn (the daughter and sole heir of king Ælfred's daughter Æthelflæd, the celebrated Lady of the Mercians), he and his brothers Ælfheah and Ælfwine being called after their mother, while their sister Wulfrun perpetuated the name of their

father,¹ whom I suppose to have been the Wulfric, "minister" "princeps" and "procer," mentioned above as the grantee of Aldulf-estreo in 958? And further that after Ælfhere's death in 983, the banishment of his son Ælfric cild in 985, and the blinding of his grandson Ælfgar in 993 (assuming the issue of his brother Ælfheah to be then extinct and his brother Ælfwine to be also dead), his Mercian estates were divided up between his sister's sons, who according to my suggestion would be Leofwine or Ælfwine (see *inf.*), Ælfhelm, and Wulfric, the south-western part with the ealdormanry of the Hwiccas being allotted to Leofwine, the north-eastern part possibly with the ealdormanry of Deira² to Ælfhelm, and the north-western and midland parts to Wulfric, whose widely extended possessions would in this way be naturally accounted for? There are known instances of similar divisions of estates amongst brothers, *e.g.* the division of the East Anglian estates some years before between the sons of the ealdorman or half-king Æthelstan (Green's *Conquest of England*, p. 309): and it has been generally supposed that the custom of gavelkind as regards descent on intestacy prevailed throughout England before the Norman Conquest. One possible objection to this view occurs to me, *viz.* that on the banishment of Ælfric cild, the son of Ælfhere of Mercia, his estates would be confiscated by the king, and indeed there is actual evidence of such confiscation having taken place in a royal charter dated about that time (*Cod. Dip.*, No. 703). But, even so, would it not be an act of policy as well as justice on the part of the king to restore the estates to the rightful heirs, more especially if such heirs were descended from the royal stock and relatives and trusted councillors of his own?

The existence of a "dux" Alwin at Wulfric's death in 1010

¹ That such a custom was common among the Anglo-Saxons is shewn by many instances cited in Mr. Searle's *Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum*, Introduction, pp. xiii-xiv.

² We have no certain information as to the government of Deira between the banishment of Oslac "the great earl" in 975 and the appointment of Ælfhelm in or about 993, but there is reason for supposing that Oslac was succeeded by Thureth or Thored (Ramsay's *Foundations of England*, i. 331), who attests charters between 978 and 988, and it is not unlikely that after Thored's death it was temporarily retained in the hands of the king with the great Mercian ealdormanry.

has still to be accounted for, there being at this time no ealdorman of that name known to history. If indeed it is permissible to suppose "Ælfwine" and "Leofwine" to have been sometimes used as different forms of the same name,¹ the difficulty would be removed: for in that case the "dux Alwinus" of the *Chronica Abbatum* of Burton and the "sister's son Ælfwine" of Ælfheah the Hampshire ealdorman's will would both be identical with Leofwine the ealdorman of the Hwiccas. If not, I can only suggest that there was another brother called Ælfwine, who, though not known to history, may have been ealdorman of another subdivision of the old province of Mercia.

The following pedigree, the conjectural parts of which are indicated by dotted lines, will (I hope) help to explain the relationship which I have ventured to suggest as existing between Wulfric Spot and the other Mercian nobles and the Wessex royal line³ :—

¹ There is a charter of king Æthelred to St. Alban's Abbey, dated 996, in which the name of one of the witnesses (as given in Dugdale's *Mon. Ang.*, ed. 1817, ii. 225) is "*Eleofsiges dux*": and there can be little doubt that this is the same person as Leofsige, the East Saxon ealdorman of that date, though the form of the name may be merely a clerical error.

² In the *Monasticon Anglicanum* (ed. 1817, i. 386) there is given, on the authority of Hugh Candidus (*History of Peterborough Monastery*, ed. Sparke, p. 43), a list of the Abbey benefactions, which begins with a gift of Adewoltune (Alwilton in Huntingdonshire) by "Leofwynus *alderman filius Elfwynæ*." The date of this gift is not mentioned; but as the Abbey of Medeshamsted was destroyed by the Danes in 870, its lands being taken possession of by Beorred or Burgred, king of the Mercians, in the following year, and it was not refounded until after the lapse of 96 years, about 966, the inference would be that Leofwyne's benefaction followed soon after the refoundation. The mention of his mother's name, instead of his father's, is noticeable, and it may well be that she was the Mercian heiress Ælfwyne—the only lady of that name known to history—in which case we find here some corroboration of the suggestion that she did not retire to a cloister or die childless. It may be that I have left out a generation in the pedigree suggested on the following page, or this Leofwyne may have been Wulfrun's brother. In a subsequent part of the same passage Hugh Candidus mentions as another benefactor to Peterborough Abbey "*Alfelmus Alderman*," and it seems probable that both Leofwyne and Ælfhelm were ealdormen of Northampton, within which district the lands presented by each of them would lie. If so, may not this Ælfhelm be the ealdorman referred to in the *Ang.-Sax. Chronicle* as the father of Ælfgifu "*Hamtunisca*," Cnut's first wife, who is called by Florence of Worcester "*Northamtunensis*"?

It is not of course suggested that this royal descent is proved, but it is believed that the above pedigree will be found to be consistent with all the facts at present known.¹ The consolidation in the hands of a single proprietor, of no higher official rank than that of king's thegn, of such vast estates—far larger than the 40 hides which are supposed to have been the territorial qualification of an eorl or ealdorman (Stubbs's *Const. Hist.* i. 174, 175, n.), and including as they did Tamworth, the site of the royal palace of the old Mercian kings, which Æthelflæd rebuilt and at which she died, and where also Wulfrun was taken captive some years later,—without any trace to be found (so far as I am aware) of royal grants in favour of Wulfric Spot or his parents of any of the places mentioned in his Will except Dumbleton,² seems to require some such explanation; and the coincidences in point of time (1) between the exhaustion of Ælfhere's direct line by death, banishment, or otherwise (c. 993) and the breaking up of the great Mercian ealdormanry, and (2) between the removal of Ælfhelm and his sons (in whom most of the Mercian estates had again become reunited under Wulfric's will) and the reconstitution of the Mercian ealdormanry (except the Hwiccas) under king Ælthelred's son-in-law Eadric Streona in 1007, are to say the least suggestive, while the forms of the names beginning with "Ælf" and "Wulf" may be regarded as some (though slight) evidence in support of the suggested pedigree.

¹ As to Wulfrun the mother of Wulfric being the founder of Wolverhampton monastery, see however my note, *ante*, p. 47.

² There were grants in 956 by king Eadwig of Niwanton (a very common place-name) to his "dear friend" Æthelgeard, and of Deorlaveston to his "minister" Æthelnothe, as well as a grant of Branteston (which is not mentioned in the will, but afterwards came into the possession of Burton Abbey) to his "minister" Eadwig; and there was also the grant, to which I have already referred, of Alduluestreo by king Eadred to his "devoted minister" Wulfric, which last I take to be the grandfather of Wulfric Spot. (Birch's *Cart. Sax.*, Nos. 944, 954, 978, 1021.) This last grant is dated 958 (indiction 1), but Eadred died in 955, and one of the witnesses, Ælfheah, bishop of Winchester, in 951. I should have supposed that the true date was 948, but this will not tally with the indiction: possibly the mistake may be in the name of the king.

NOTE C.—Æthelred's Confirmatory Charter.

King Æthelred's charter to Burton Abbey has been printed both in the *Monasticon* and in the *Codex Diplomaticus*, the latter being simply a reproduction of the former with two or three slight corrections, e.g. "paterni" for "paterna." The *Monasticon* version purports to be taken from the Burton Abbey Register, and it seems to have been generally assumed that the printed form is a faithful reproduction of the MS. But I find on inspection of the Register itself at Beaudesert that this is far from being the case: the *Monasticon* really contains a large number of emendations, some for the better and some (I cannot but think) for the worse. Mr. Sanders in his Introduction to Part III. of the *Facsimiles of Anglo-Saxon MSS.* (p. xvi), in referring to this charter, says: "The proem, with which this charter commences, is one of much interest, and worthy to be the composition of Archbishop Ælfric, as he states it to have been in his attestation ['ego Ælfric Archiepiscopus composui']. It displays marks of Continental learning, which the Saxon scribe has as usual done his best to deface or conceal, and the Latinity of the Burton Register copy is better preserved than that of the charter itself [*i.e.* the single skin]; portions of which are irreducible to grammar and portions reduced to nonsense, as in the case of 'invida fraude venti' for 'invidia fraudulentum'—'ipse prophetam' for 'ipse prophetavit'—'paterna dextera throni' for 'paterni dextera throni.' The compound word 'verbigena'—born of the Word—applied to Christ, seems to have been a coinage of Prudentius." Mr. Sanders here evidently assumes that the *Monasticon* version, or rather Kemble's version in the *Codex Diplomaticus*, accurately represents the copy in the Burton Abbey Register, and he cannot have seen the Register itself: for on inspection of the Register it is quite clear that in the first passage cited the words are "*invida fraude vetiti seduxit edulio pomi*," and in the second "*ipse per prophetam*, Dies, inquit," etc.—the Latinity of which is (I venture to think) quite as good as, if not better than, that of the emendations—while in the third passage the *Monasticon* agrees with the single skin and the *Codex Diplomaticus* with the Register. The copy in the *Monasticon* bears also other internal indications that the seventeenth century transcriber had seen

the single skin as well as the Register. Thus the first initial letter of the charter (P in Postquam), as there transcribed, takes the form of ✠ (the well-known Christian symbol representing the first two letters of the Greek word ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ), which is the form of the initial used in the single skin but not in the Register :—the same monogram occurs at the beginning of other charters, including one of king Æthelred dated in 1003, though not there utilized as the initial of the first word (*cf. Facsimiles of Anglo-Saxon MSS.*, Part III, No. 35):—and in a few other instances where the two MS. versions differ, including the correction of the word “demoniisque” into “demoniacisque,” the *Monasticon* follows the single skin in preference to the Register. However, in most places the transcriber follows the Register rather than the single skin, conspicuous instances of which will be found in the misspelling of the names of most of the king’s sons and the omission of the name of one of the “ministri” in the attestations : so too the mistake in the place name “Orlafestune” (for “deorlafestune”) evidently arose from the fact that the first two letters of the name, being in the Register written separately at the end of the previous line, were missed by the transcriber. The two MSS., on the other hand, *viz.* the single skin and the Register, agree very closely with one another ; and, though there are some variations between the two, these are few in number and of little importance. Wolferstan, in one of his letters to the *Gentleman’s Magazine*, to which I have referred above, suggests (as I understand him) that the single skin is a copy of the Register ; but his reasons are not at all convincing, and it would be difficult on this hypothesis to account for the occurrence on the single skin of various words, including the name of one of the witnesses, which are omitted in the Register. My own conclusion is exactly the opposite one, *viz.* that the copy in the Register was made from the single skin, the latter being itself a much earlier copy if not actually the original charter ; and further, that while the Anglo-Saxon part is given more correctly in the (probably) pre-Conquest single skin, the Latinity of the post-Conquest Register is generally to be preferred.

I have not thought it necessary to make a fresh transcript of the charter, as I hope that anyone who wishes to see of what the various differences consist will find no difficulty in doing so,

if he will look at the table of variations which I give below with either the *Monasticon* or the *Codex Diplomaticus* before him:—

Facsimile of single skin.	Burton Abbey Register.	<i>Monasticon Anglicanum</i> and <i>Codex Diplomaticus</i> .
<p>inuida fraude uenti protoplasto opponitur peregrinatio totam ferme sibi uerbigena substantiam dolens perisse mysterio secretiori</p>	<p>inuida fraude vetiti protoplasto opponitur peregrinando totam ferme sibi uerbigena substantiam dolens perisse mysterio secretiori</p>	<p>inuidia fraudulentii protoplasto opponitur peregrinatio totam sibi ferme verbigena substantia dolens perisse mysterio [<i>Cod. Dip. mys-</i> <i>terio</i>] secretiori</p>
<p>celebatur prostraret adgredi inretiri sacræ testimonio scrip- turæ tertio Hac nostre auctori salu- tis adfuit angelicus Hisque multiplicium</p>	<p>celebatur prostraverat aggredi irretiri sacræ testimonio scrip- turæ tertio Hac nostre auctori salutis adfuit angelicus hiisque multiplicium</p>	<p>celabatur prostraret adgredi irretiri sacræ Scripturæ testi- monio tertio Huic nostræ auctori salutis adfuit angelicus Eisque multiplicis</p>
<p>lunaticis demoniisque^{acis} sententiis [. . .] rando ut non tenebre uos Verumptamen medicatore[m] dei et hominum adfigere metuerent immortale clausis [.] ianuis adstantibus die quadragesimo substantia in paterna dextera throni</p>	<p>lunaticis dæmoniisque sententiis reserando ut uos tenebræ non Verumptamen mediatore[m] dei et hominum affigere metuerent immortale clausis ianuis astantibus die quadragesimo substantiam in paterni dextera throni</p>	<p>lunaticis dæmoniisque sententiis celerando ut non tenebræ vos Verumptamen mediatore[m] Dei et hominum adfigere metuerint immortale clausis exhibuit ianuis adstantibus die quadragesima substantiam in paterna [<i>Cod. Dip. paterni</i>] dextera throni</p>
<p>aduentus sui ipse prophetam, Dies, inquit dies nubule ad tactus tam districtio iudici ipso domino cuiusdam <i>etc.</i> . . . appel- latur WULFRIC extruxit et ex- struxit collegio instituit</p>	<p>sui aduentus ipse per prophetam, Dies, inquit dies nebule attactus tam districtio iudici ipso domino cuiusdam quod <i>etc.</i> . . . appellatur WULFRIC extruxit et instructum collegio instituit</p>	<p>aduentus sui ipse prophetavit "Dies" inquit dies nubis ad tactus tam districtio iudici ipsi domino cujusdam <i>etc.</i> . . . appel- lati Wlfricus extruxit et collegio instituit</p>

Facsimile of single skin.	Burton Abbey Register.	<i>Monasticon Anglicanum</i> and <i>Codex Diplomaticus</i> .
<p>WULFGEAT qui ad hoc iuxta sancti militans Benedicti adgregetur</p> <p>altioris inferioris ue tantam modo exceptis aligenari a sua respiscat prauitate</p> <p>ineffabilis . Requies eter- na . Gaudium Hec autem sunt nomina strættun hwædedun ticenheale foreword deorlafestune thæрто hereth . hilum thæрто hereth . et breg- desheale pillesleage æppelbyg ealdeswurthe wynnefelda oggedestune forth inn mid mortune ecclesheale morleage</p> <p>millesimo ^{to}iiii annotata esse cernuntur ditavi libertatem Ego Eadmund . . Eadred . . Eadwig . . Eadgar</p> <p>{ Ego Eadric minister Ego Godric minister Ego Godwine minister</p>	<p>WULFGEAT qui ad hoc iuxta regulam militans sancti Benedicti agre- getur</p> <p>altioris inferioris ue tantummodo exceptis alienari resipiscat a sua prauit- tate ineffabilis . requies et- erna . gaudium Hec sunt nomina strættun wædedun ticenheale foreword deorlafestune thæрто hyrth . hilum thær in to hyrth . et brægdesheale pillesleage æppelbyg ealdeswyrthe wynnefelda oggedestune . forth in mid mortune ecclesheale morleage</p> <p>mo^o iiii^o annotata cernuntur ditavi libertate Ego Eadmund . . Eadred . . Eadred . . Eadgar</p> <p>{ Ego Eadric minister Ego Godwine minister</p>	<p>Wlfgeat ad hoc [<i>Cod. Dip.</i> qui ad hoc] iuxta S. [<i>Cod. Dip.</i> iuxta regulam sancti] militans Benedicti ad- gregetur altioris inferioris ve tantummodo exceptis alienigenari a sua respiscat pravi- tate ineffabilis, gaudium</p> <p>Hæc sunt nomina Strætun Wædedun Ticenhealle foreward Orlafestune thæрто hyrth . Hilum tharinto hyrth, et Bræg- desheale Willesleage Æppelbyg Ealdeswyrthe Wynnefeld Oggedestune forth in mid Mortune Eccleshale Morleage</p> <p>Miiij annotata cernuntur ditavi libertate Ego Eadmund . . Eadwig . . Eadgar [<i>Cod. Dip.</i> Eadmund . . Eadwig . . Eadgar].</p> <p>{ Ego Eadric minister Ego Godwine minister</p>

Besides these variations there are a few others in the spelling of the names of some of the other attesting witnesses, of which however I have not taken any note. The proem to the charter contains four Biblical quotations, *viz.* from S. Matt., iv. 17, S. John, xii. 35, Acts i. 11, and Zephaniah, i. 15, but in all the copies there are slight variations from the Vulgate version.

Supplementary Note.

[Since the above paper was written I have come across more than one recent work, which I had not previously seen, but which are of importance and should certainly be consulted as throwing light on Wulfric's ancestry. These are (1) *Historical Essays* (1872), pp. 177-189, "The King's Kin," by E. W. Robertson, the Scottish historian; (2) *Anglo-Saxon Bishops, Kings and Nobles* (1899), pp. 390, 403, 419, Tables 10, 26, 36, by W. G. Searle, the author of the *Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum*; and (3) *The Charter of Wulfrun to the Monastery at Hamton* (1888) by the late Mr. W. H. Duignan, the author of Notes on Place names in Staffordshire and Warwickshire, etc. Each of these writers to some extent corroborates, or rather forestalls, some of my conclusions; and, although none of them gives any support to my suggested descent of Wulfric from the Lady of the Mercians, I cannot find in them anything inconsistent with it. Robertson refers to the Dumbleton Charter of 995 and identifies the founder of Burton Abbey with Wulfric Wulfrun's son, and this Wulfrun (whom for some reason not stated he supposes to be a man notwithstanding the feminine form of the genitive "Wulfrune") with the Tamworth captive, while he considers Wulfrun the benefactress of Wolverhampton monastery to be probably the wife of the ealdorman Ælfhelm and mother of Ælfgifu, the first wife of king Cnut and supposed mother of Swegn and Harold Harefoot: he also suggests that Wulfric Spot may have ruled over the northern portion of Ælfhere's ealdordom in the capacity of high-reeve, which may well have been the case, but it would not explain his being able to dispose of these lands by his will. Mr. Searle identifies the founder of Burton Abbey with the son of Leofwine, and suggests that his mother may have been Wulfrun the Wolverhampton benefactress, but he does not refer to the Tamworth captive. Mr. Duignan identifies the Wolverhampton benefactress with the Tamworth captive, and thinks that Wulfric Wulfrun's son, who attested the charter of 997, may have been her son, but he does not (I think) refer to Wulfric Spot or the Dumbleton Charter of 995.

There is also, as mentioned in my last note to p. 24, *sup.*, an article in the *Shropshire Archæological Society's Transactions*,

4th Series, Vol. I (1911), pp. 1-22, by Mr. W. H. Duignan and Mr. W. H. Stevenson on Anglo-Saxon Charters relating to Shropshire, which contains a translation of Wulfric Spot's will substantially in accordance with the Ordnance Survey publication and also some topographical notes of their own. Nearly all the places mentioned in the will are identified by their notes (the substance of which I have now incorporated in mine between square brackets and with the addition of their initials "D. and S." to distinguish them), and there is also a valuable appendix by Mr. Stevenson about the testator himself. This appendix (pp. 20-22) requires more detailed notice, as it is opposed to some of the views which I have put forward. After referring to the description in the *Chronica Abbatum* of Wulfric as "consul ac comes Merciorum" he says:—"This, if derived from a document contemporary with Wulfric, would mean that he was ealdorman of Mercia. This vice-regal office was not held by him, and the title, if not a pure invention of the Burton monks, must mean that he was an ealdorman of some part, perhaps a county only, of Mercia." With deference to so great an authority I think I have shewn that in a document contemporary with Wulfric the ealdorman of Mercia would properly have been called not "comes" but "dux," and that "comes" had a rather different and possibly a more flexible meaning, so that it would seem unnecessary for this purpose to presume any invention or even inaccuracy on the part of the monks. Mr. Stevenson next identifies Wulfrun the mother of Wulfric with the lady who left her name enshrined in that of Wolverhampton, and distinguishes her from Wulfrun the mother of Ælfgifu of Hampton or Northampton, Cnut's first wife; and this accords with the view which I have myself suggested, although the reference in the Wolverhampton charter to Wulfrun's *only* daughter Elfthrith, then dead, may raise a difficulty about this identification. He then refers to a bequest of Hrammeslege (Romsley) "together with the landing stage (hyth) pertaining to it" by one Wulfyn or Wulfwun to the great ealdorman Ælfhelm [evidently a misprint for Æthelmær], the founder of Eynsham Abbey, some time before the foundation of that monastery in 1005, and suggests that this was the Romsley bequeathed by Wulfric Spot to Burton Abbey, and that the

name Wulfyn or Wulfwun is a mistake for Wulfrun, the mother of Wulfric. This does not affect my argument, but surely it cannot be the same Romsley that was confirmed to Burton Abbey in 1004 and to Eynsham Abbey in 1005, and Mr. Horace Round has identified this latter Romsley with its landing stage as Rameslei on the coast of Sussex (see *Cartulary of Eynsham Abbey*, II. xcviij, Oxf. Hist. Soc., Vol. 51). After this comes a paragraph, which, as it controverts one of my main conclusions, I ought to set out in full:—"Wulfric has been identified by Freeman and others with a Wulfric son of Leofwine who was killed by the Danes at the battle of Ringmere on 5 May 1010. But this is unlikely, since the army defeated there was that of East Anglia, not of Mercia, in which Wulfric Spot's possessions lay. Moreover the monks of Burton record the death of their founder as occurring on 22 October 1010. This cannot be reconciled with the date of Ringmere. The monks are very unlikely to have made a mistake in the day of [qu. or] the month of their founder's death, which would be entered in their calendar for yearly celebration. As it was unusual to enter the year of a death in the calendar, it seems clear that the year has been derived by the compiler from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, directly or indirectly. Wulfric was, in all probability, dead some years before 1010, for the signatures assigned to him cease in 1002, and archbishop Ælfric, who died 16 November 1005, obtained possession of the estate at Dumbleton bequeathed to him by Wulfric and bestowed it upon Abingdon Abbey by his will. The confirmation by the king in 1004 to Burton Abbey of the estates bequeathed by Wulfric must also be subsequent to the death of the latter." At first sight these arguments seem strong, but I do not think they will be found very convincing if carefully examined. The fact that the defeated army was that of East Anglia I have already noticed, and it is certainly a striking one, but on my theory Wulfric had for some years ceased to be the lord of his Mercian estates. As regards the dates of the battle and of Wulfric's death there is really, so far as I can see, no discrepancy at all to be reconciled. The writer of the *Chronica Abbatum* does not say that the battle of Ipswich (or Ringmere) was fought on 22 October, but that Wulfric died on that day, having been

mortally wounded in the battle ("in bello letaliter contusus"),—a phrase which to my mind rather pointedly suggests that he did not die of his wounds immediately: besides, if the monks were taking the date of the battle from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, they could hardly have supposed that Ascension Day fell on some date in October! As regards the other arguments, if Wulfric had given up all his great worldly possessions and retired to the monastery which he had founded, it is not to be expected that his name would any longer be found among the witnesses attesting royal charters at the king's court; while we know that archbishop Ælfric had other lands at Dumbleton to which his will would refer, even if he had derived none at all from Wulfric. Lastly, if the (so-called) will of Wulfric did take effect in his lifetime (as I have supposed), the fact of its confirmation by the king would not necessarily imply his previous death. Mr. Stevenson explains the allusion to the presence at Wulfric's funeral of his brother "dux Alwinus" as a mistake for Ælfhelm. But explanations based upon the supposition of mistakes or inventions are to my mind never satisfactory, and should only be resorted to when all other explanations fail. If mistake there was, is it not just as likely that the name should have been Leofwine, who was certainly living in 1010, as Ælfhelm, who was equally certainly then dead—a fact which must have been known to the compiler of the *Chronica Abbatum*, if he was (as suggested) a student of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle? It is however right that I should add that Mr. Stevenson's view of Wulfric's parentage has the weighty support of Sir James Ramsey in his *Foundations of England* (1898, i. 357, 364, 374), though the latter does not mention the adverse evidence afforded by the statement in the *Chronica Abbatum*.

Although I cannot see any discrepancy between the two accounts on the ground that the date assigned by the compiler of the *Chronica Abbatum* for Wulfric's death is different from the date of the battle of Ringmere as stated by Florence of Worcester, I am bound to say that I do find inherent difficulties in the date itself as given by the monastic record. The date of death there given is "die Lunæ xi. Kal. Novembris anno domini MX et regni Ethelredi prædicti XXXI." Now October 22nd, 1010, was not a Monday but a Sunday, and the month of

October 1010 could not on any hypothesis have fallen within the 31st year of the reign of Æthelred, who was crowned in the month of April 978 (or 979). But these difficulties are not solved by supposing a mistake in the year, for the only year between 994 and 1011 in which October 22nd fell upon a Monday was 1005, while the month of October in the 31st year of Æthelred's reign, whether reckoned from the murder of his predecessor or from his own coronation, must have been either 1008 or 1009; and none of these years is consistent with the hypothesis that Wulfric was dead (as suggested) in 1004. They do however tend to some extent to discredit the statements of the monastic chronicler unless some explanation is forthcoming, and I must confess that I have no solution to offer. I do not myself attach much importance to the discrepancy between the "anno domini" and the "anno regni," because the date of the foundation of the monastery is in the same document given as "A.D. MIV" and "anno regni Ethelredi XXV," so that it is clear that throughout the mistake must have been as to the date of Æthelred's accession. But it is difficult to see how the mistake as to the day of the week can have arisen, unless indeed there was a prevalent error in the chronological computations of that period. Whatever the true explanation of these difficulties may be, the discrepancy between the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and Florence of Worcester as to the date of the battle presents difficulties quite as great. The Chronicle expressly states that it took place on the day "Prima Ascensio Domini" (which I suppose must mean Ascension Day,—and so Henry of Huntingdon understood it, for he calls it "die Dominicæ Ascensionis"), the date of which in the year 1010 would be May 18th. But the date assigned by Florence is "tertio Nonas Maii," *i.e.* May 5th, a date which does not correspond with Ascension Day in any year between 1000 and 1017, the nearest to it being May 6th in the year 1003.

Even if the view taken by Mr. Stevenson and Sir James Ramsay as to Wulfric's parentage be the true one, it is quite consistent with my suggestion (founded mainly on the connection with the old royal borough of Tamworth) that he was descended from the Lady of the Mercians, but in that case the pedigree which I have sketched above would require some modification.]

STAFFORDSHIRE PRE-CONQUEST
CHARTERS.

STAFFORDSHIRE PRE-CONQUEST CHARTERS.

PRELIMINARY NOTE.

IN some of the earlier Volumes of these Collections (especially Vols. II and III), and in the Volume for 1911, will be found under the name of "The Staffordshire Chartulary," a series, or rather several series, of Staffordshire charters dating from the reign of William the Conqueror onwards, but no attempt has been made to collect together and edit for the Society the earlier ones belonging to the days before the Norman Conquest. It has been felt that this gap ought to be made good, and I have been asked to undertake the work. No one can be more conscious than I am myself how badly equipped I am for such a task, which needs the learning of an Anglo-Saxon as well as a classical scholar, and I could have wished that it had been entrusted to more competent hands. But, as no person with the necessary qualifications appeared to be forthcoming, I felt bound to comply with the request to the best of my ability.

The documents comprised in the following series are all, or very nearly all, to be found either in Birch's *Cartularium Saxonicum*, or in Kemble's *Codex Diplomaticus*, and many in both. Birch unfortunately does not go beyond the end of Eadgar's reign, but for the period covered by him his collection is the most accurate as well as the most complete, each document having (as he states in the Introduction to his first volume) been collated by him with the MS. from which it was taken. In the following pages I have given at the head of each charter the references to both these standard works as well as to the ultimate source or sources from which it purports to have been taken, but I have not except in one or two cases consulted the original MSS. myself. If I had followed my own inclination, I should have printed the charters as they stood in the original

language, that is, in most cases, Latin, except as regards boundary descriptions, which, if given at all, were usually given in Anglo-Saxon. But it was thought by those who should know best that an English translation would be more generally useful : so I have adopted that form instead, endeavouring to make my translations as literal as seemed to me compatible with intelligibility rather than aiming at grace of style or idiomatic expression, and I have added the actual words where I did not feel sure of the meaning. The references which I have supplied will, I hope, make it easy for any competent scholar who may be interested in any particular document to have recourse to the original. The printed versions are often full of grammatical inaccuracies, and the punctuation, especially in the boundary descriptions, is occasionally so misplaced as to be positively misleading ; but, not being an Anglo-Saxon scholar, I must confess my inability to suggest the proper emendations or in some places to make even a plausible rendering of the words as they stand. I have felt some difficulty in determining which charters to select, as there are several which relate to lands, bearing some common name, which may be in Staffordshire but are quite as likely (if not more likely) to lie elsewhere. For instance Heantun or Hamtun may mean Southampton or Northampton, Great Hampton in Worcestershire, Hampton-in-Arden in Warwickshire, or Wolverhampton in Staffordshire, or (it may be) some other Hampton : and for a similar reason it is impossible to identify an Eaton, a Norton, or a Newton, unless the boundaries are given or the context supplies some other clue. But I have thought it best to set out a full translation in all cases where I consider the identification fairly certain or even probable, which includes over twenty documents, and merely to give the references, with some short notes, as to those which I regard as only possibly relating to Staffordshire.

The collections made by Kemble and Birch were of course compiled from various sources, but a considerable number of charters, which may relate to Staffordshire places, but which Kemble had not seen, were taken by Birch from a MS. volume lent him for that purpose by the late Mr. Wynne of Peniarth, near Towyn in North Wales, and usually known as the Hengwrt MS. No. 150 ; and before I begin to set out the charters it may

be convenient that I should explain what this MS. is. The Hengwrt collection was originally formed by Robert Vaughan of Hengwrt, the Welsh antiquary, who died in 1667, and it was inherited in 1859 by William Watkin Edward Wynne of Peniarth under the will of his distant kinsman, Sir Robert Williames Vaughan of Nannan, and removed by him to Peniarth. Mr. Wynne died in 1880, and was succeeded by his son, the late Mr. W. R. M. Wynne of Peniarth, Lord Lieutenant of Merioneth, who died without issue in 1909. (*See Dict. of Nat. Biog.: sub nominibus.*) In the *Archæologia Cambrensis* (3rd ser., vol. xv, and 4th ser., vols. i and ii) there is an elaborate catalogue of this collection of MSS., where MS. No. 150 is thus described:—
 “150. The contents of this MS. are thus given by Mr. William Maurice of Llansilin, in the catalogue of the Hengwrt MSS., made in 1658, and Mr. Aneurin Owen has copied him: ‘A very fair ancient Book in vellum, containing the charters of Burton-upon-Trent; Item, the Laws of Glanvill; Item, Literæ de summa Bernardi; Item, a number of old State-letters, betwixt the Pope, Emperor, and Kings and Bishops of England.’ Almost throughout the volume, which is a closely and beautifully written one of the thirteenth century, are letters or charters amounting to a very large number, relating to the Monastery of Burton-upon-Trent. It contains several documents of the same sort which appear but *formis*. Towards the end is a collection of letters or charters of the Saxon kings of England. 4to.” (*Arch. Camb.*, 3rd ser., xv. 361.) It would be very interesting to see this MS. volume, which may contain important materials for a Staffordshire antiquary; indeed it may well be that the mere fact of a charter being copied or abstracted there may be regarded as some evidence that it related to the neighbourhood of Burton Abbey.

Incidentally I think I may claim to have established—to my own satisfaction at any rate, and I hope it will be thought to that of others also—the identity of two Domesday villis, *viz.* Cote and Iltone, the exact position of which was left in doubt by Eyton (see Charters, Nos. XIX and XX, *inf.*).

Before concluding this Preliminary Note I should like to acknowledge with gratitude the very great help which I have derived, in the identification of the witnesses, and especially

the episcopal witnesses, to the various charters, from Mr. W. G. Searle's two invaluable books of reference for the Anglo-Saxon period, *viz.* his *Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum* and his *Anglo-Saxon Bishops, Kings and Nobles*.

NO. I.

[*Cart. Sax.*, ii. 4, No. 430. From MS. Cotton., *Tiberius A.* xiii, f. 12; Heming, *Chartul.*, i. 126; MS. Cotton., *Nero E.* i, f. 183 (names of eight witnesses only). *Cf.* Kemble, *Cod. Dip.*, ii. 7, No. 245; Thorpe, *Diplom.*, p. 90.]

Witenagemot at Tomeworthie (Tamworth). Restoration by Berhtwulf, king of the Mercians, to Bishop Heaberht and the Church of Worcester of lands at Stoltun, Uuassanburna, Cyneburginctun, Tateringatun and Codeswelle. A.D. 840.

WASSANBURNA

Latin.

✠ To our high and holy and omnipotent God and the holy and glorious Trinity be virtue honour and power for ever. Amen.

In the year from the Incarnation of the same God and our Lord Jesus Christ DCCC^oXL^o, the third indiction, It happened that BERHTWULF king of the Mercians took away from us and has handed over our land,—that which by right and justice has under special power and free possession with firm gift been made over and granted and confirmed to the episcopal seat, that is the church of *Uueogern* (Worcester), the aforesaid king has bestowed upon his own (*suobus qu. suis?*) particular men, as unfriendly men have informed themselves (?) (*sicut se inimici homines docuerunt*). That is *Stoltun Uuassanburna Cyneburginctun Tateringatun Codeswelle*.

Then bishop HEABERHT taking his older men with him proceeded to *Tomeworthie* at Easter [28 March], they having with them their liberties and charters of the aforesaid lands, and there they were read out before the king and his chief men (*proceres*), and there the nobles (*optimates*) of the Mercians adjudicated in his favour (*dejudicaverunt illi*), that they had been wrongfully and unjustly deprived of their property (*in suo proprio*).

Then their land was restored to them peaceably, and at the same time also the bishop bestowed upon the king this gift (*hunc donativum regem perdonavit*) again in *Welesburne*, that is, four well-selected pack-horses and one ring of thirty mancuses and a wrought dish of three pounds [weight] and two white horns [*cornas*] of two pounds and one gilt cup of two pounds.

And then the king with attestation before his chief men freed for himself (*liberavit sibi*) these lands lastingly for ever from every compulsion and burden (*sustulionis*), and wrote and fortified it by confirming it everlastingly with his own hand with the sign of the holy cross of Christ.

If in truth any king or prince or man of any rank be so deceived by

diabolical avarice as to try and destroy or diminish this our alms and liberty, let him know that he will be separated from the company of all the saints of God in the great day of judgment before the judgment seat of Christ, unless he shall have made amends here to God and men with good satisfaction.

And these witnesses were present who have agreed to and written this, whose names are illuminated (*flavescent*) on the other side (*plaga*) of the charter.

+ I Beorhtwulf king of the Mercians fortify this my liberty and gift with the standard of the holy cross that it may remain fixed for ever.

- | | |
|---|----------------------------|
| + I Sæthryth, the queen, have agreed. | |
| + I Cyneferth, bishop, have agreed. | |
| + I Heaberht, bishop, have agreed. | |
| + I Berehtred, bishop, have agreed. | |
| + I Cuthwulf, bishop, have agreed. | |
| + I Eammund, abbot. | |
| + I Hunberht, ealdorman (<i>dux</i>). | + I Æthelheard, ealdorman. |
| + I Mucel, ealdorman. | + I Dudda, ealdorman. |
| + I Cyneberht, ealdorman. | + I Sigered, ealdorman. |
| + I Æthelwulf, ealdorman. | + I Mucel, ealdorman. |
| + I Eadwulf. | + I Ælfred. |
| + I Wicga. | + Hwithyse. |
| + I Eaduulf. | + I Aldberht. |

NOTES.

The lands mentioned in this charter are identified shortly by Birch as Stoulton, Washborne, etc., co. Worcester; but Washborne lies, I believe, on the other side of the Gloucestershire border. I suppose that Cyneburginctun must be Comberton (the Cumbrinctune of king Eadger's charter to the abbey of Pershore, and the Domesday Cumbritone); and that Tateringatun is Tredington, which lies between Washborne and Tewkesbury and belonged to the church of Worcester at the time of Domesday (Tredinctun). Codeswelle is not here identified by Birch, but for the next charter (No. II. *inf.*), where Codeswelle is again mentioned, he suggests Codsall in Staffordshire. However, apart from the difference of name termination, one would expect to find this Codeswelle somewhere in the same neighbourhood as the other places included in the grant, and (so far as I am aware) the only place there which at all answers to the name is Codestune, now called Cutsdean, which at the time of Domesday was in the possession of the church of Worcester. Moreover there is a charter by Offa, king of the Mercians, to Bredon

monastery dated in 780 (*Mon. Ang.*, ed. 1817-1830, i. 587), by which he gave them four vills, *viz.*: Teottingtun situate by the river Cerent, Uuassanburnan, *Codesuuellan* on the mountain which the inhabitants call "mons Hwicciorum," and Northtun by the river Tyrl. I believe there to be Toddington on the Isborne, a tributary of the Avon, Washborne, Cutsdean on the Cotswold hills, and Norton near the Avon, all of which places, except Washborne, were at the time of Domesday included in Worcestershire, and all except Norton then in the possession of the church of Worcester. The name Codeswelle, if not now extant exactly in that form, still partially survives in the "Cotswold" hills, which must certainly be the "mons Hwicciorum" of Offa's time. I should not therefore have inserted this charter in a series of Staffordshire deeds but for the fact that it records a Mercian Witenagemot held at Tamworth in 840.

Tamworth was the seat of government, where Offa had his royal palace, as appears by a charter of his, dated in 781, of land in Worcestershire, which he signs as "Ego Offa rex sedens in regali palatio in Tamouuorthige" (*Cart. Sax.*, i. 334, No. 240). It is also mentioned in a charter of king Beorhtwulf, dated in 841, by which Eanmund abbot of Bredon in consideration of a charter of freedom from a custom called "festingmen" (*i.e.* the entrusting of the servants of the king while going from place to place to the keeping of the monasteries) gave the king and his successors a great silver dish beautifully chased and ornamented to be used "in famoso vico in Tomeworthie" and 190 mancuses of pure gold, and the deed was dated "in celebri vico on Tome-worthie" (*Mon. Ang.*, ed. 1817-30, i. 589).

Of the witnesses to the present charter Beorhtwulf was king of Mercia from 839 to 852; Sæthryth was Beorhtwulf's queen, and she attests charters between the years 840 and 849. Cyneferth was bishop of Lichfield *c.* 834 to *c.* 843, Heaberht bishop of Worcester 822 to *c.* 847, Berehtred bishop of Lindsey *c.* 836 to *c.* 880, and Cuthwulf bishop of Hereford 837 to *c.* 862. Abbot Eammund or Eanmund was abbot of Bredon, which monastery was either about this time or later annexed to the bishopric (*Mon. Ang.*, ed. 1817-30, vi. 1625). The eight witnesses who sign as "*dux*" would be ealdormen of the various districts into which Mercia was then divided. The other six, except Eadwulf,

are all entered by Kemble as "*ministri*" or king's thegns, and doubtless this is correct, though according to Birch the actual title does not appear to be given them in the MS. from which the charter purports to be taken.

No. II.

[*Cart. Sax.*, ii. 92, No. 490. From Smlth's *Beda*, Appendix, p. 769; and *cf.* Kemble's *Cod. Dip.*, ii. 61, No. 279.]

Grant by Alhwine, bishop of Worcester, to the ealdorman Æthelwulf and his wife Wulfthryth, for their lives, of lands at Codeswelle and at Stur. A.D. 855.

✠ In the name of the Lord. Surely those things, which should be arranged Latin. by the wise and prudent and even by pontiffs and great men ([*pro*]ceris) as salutary and necessary, ought to be written in letter characters and in sure signs of schedules and noted, lest perchance the science of philosophers and stoics should pass into oblivion.

Wherefore I ALHWINE, by the grace of God set to preside over the province of the Hwiccii, and my brotherhood (*familia*) in the city of Worcester,—we will give to ÆTHELWULF ealdorman and his wife WULFTHRYTH the land of eleven householders (*cassatorum*) in two places, that is *æt Codes Wellan* and *æt Sture*, and we have assigned these lands to them for their lives on condition that they hold themselves reconciled and allied to the city of Worcester as well during life as afterwards, together with their bodies and all their best goods which they may have, if God should have fore-ordained that they stay in this country on this side of the sea; and they have also procured it with this object that the aforesaid prince Æthelwulf should with right friendship and good zeal without fraud so guard the liberties of that church in Worcester and of the monasteries which belong to it as long as his life shall last, and that he should never either destroy or diminish it nor conspire [against it] with any other younger men of his, and that Æthelwulf ealdorman may have this thing confirmed to the bishop and his brotherhood with his pledge on the books of the four gospels of Christ and under the pledge of the loaves of God (*sub Dei fœnere panum*) that he should so guard it firmly. And after he and his wife shall have gone the way of their fathers that the aforesaid lands shall come back to the Cæstre [Worcester] without any obstacle together with all the goods that they may have there. And if it should so happen, as we hope it will not, that anyone should by diabolical teaching presume to break this [agreement], let the bishop and his brotherhood be free to enjoy fully their own land as it may seem good to them. Peace and happiness be to those who agree to and keep this precept of ours here and in the future, but as to those who contradict or

diminish it—may eternal vengeance or destruction reach them, unless they shall first have made amends here to God and men with satisfaction.

The charter of this gift was passed in the year of the Incarnation of Christ DCCC° & LV°, the third indiction, in the capital which is called Worcester (*Wegrunnan Cæstor*).

These are the witnesses of the confirmation of this gift, whose names are seen noted below :—

- | | |
|--|------------|
| + I Æthelwulf, ealdorman, have agreed and subscribed. | |
| + I Alhwine have agreed to this my gift and have subscribed. | |
| + I Cuthheard, priest and provost, have agreed. | |
| + I Alhmund, priest, have agreed. | |
| + I Wulfheard, priest, have agreed. | |
| + I Eagberht, priest, have agreed. | |
| + I Ciolberht, priest, have agreed. | |
| + I Dæhheh, priest, have agreed. | |
| + Baldred, deacon. | |
| + Eueferth, deacon. | + Putta. |
| + Wulphere, deacon. | + Leofmon. |

NOTES.

These places (Codeswelle and Stur) are identified by Birch as Codsall in Staffordshire and Stourbridge in Worcestershire, but as regards Codeswelle, I have given my reasons for doubting the identification under the last preceding deed, which evidently relates to the same place. Under this gift the lands were to revert to the church of Worcester after the deaths of the ealdorman and his wife, but I cannot trace either Codsall or Stourbridge as ever having belonged to the Bishop of Worcester. In the earliest mention of Codsall that I have found the name is not Codeswelle but Codeshale. My own belief is that the places comprised in this gift are Cutsdean, then in Worcestershire, on the Cotswold Hills, and either Stourton in Staffordshire, at the junction of the Smestow and the Stour near Kinver, or perhaps more probably some place in Worcestershire. There was a place in Worcestershire called Sture in the possession of the abbey of Pershore at the time of Domesday; and this the writer of the article on the Domesday Survey in the Worcestershire *Victoria County History* identifies with Alderminster, but it does not appear on what grounds (*V. C. H., Worcestershire*, i. 305).

Besides the ealdorman Æthelwulf, in whose favour this grant

is made, and Alhwine or Alhhun, bishop of Worcester *c.* 846 to 872, the grantor, the witnesses include six priests, three deacons, and two others, who probably all belonged to the establishment of the cathedral church of Worcester.

No. III.

[*Cart. Sax.*, ii. 125, No. 513. From Smith's *Beda*, App. p. 770; *cf.* Kemble's *Cod. Dip.*, ii. 81, No. 292, and iii. 396, App. No. 292.]

Exchange between Burhred, king of the Mercians, and Wulfferd of land at Wulfferdinleh (Wolverly) belonging to Soeges lea (Sedgley?). A.D. 866.

✠ God and our Lord Jesus Christ reigning for ever. In the year of our Latin Lord's Incarnation DCCC.LXVI, moreover in the tenth indiction.

I BURGRED, king of the Mercians, with the consent and licence of my older men, granting with a willing mind, will give a certain part of the land of my realm bestowed upon me by God. I give to WULFFERD two manse holders (*manentes*) belonging to Soeges lea in a place which the countrymen call Wulfferdinleh, that he may have it for himself and well enjoy it for an everlasting inheritance, and may leave it after his death to whomsoever he will in perpetual right, and of [*quod* together with] all the goods belonging to that land of old and hereafter (*olim*) established, in fields and in pastures and in meadows and in woods, and whatsoever belongs to that land. I Burgred, king of the Mercians, will increase this my munificence to Wulfferd, and I will set out for him feeding for 70 pigs in that common woodland allotment, where the countrymen call it Wulfferdinleh, and five cartloads of good rods, and every year one good oak tree for building and other necessary materials and wood in plenty (*lignaria exabuntia*) for fire as may be necessary for him; and another woodland allotment belonging to it I will also give him on the other side, in field and in wood, as they belong to the land of two manse holders.

I Wulferd for the acquisition and exchange of this little piece of land and Wulfferdinlea have given to Burgred, king of the Mercians, the land of five householders delivered for one man's life and 400 shekels in pure silver and two colts (?) (*hernaculos*) with all their trappings (*subpellecilibus*) and 8 oxen and 50 pigs and 200 cornlands (*segetes*) with all the corn and 300 measures of barley threshed without threshing-machines (*contribulibus*) and (*suburbano*).

These little pieces of land aforementioned and Wulfferdinlea five hides are surrounded by these boundaries: These are the land boundaries at Wulffer- Anglo-
dinlea, from the Stour to Honeybrook, then up the brook to the old inclosure Saxon.

(*hæge*), along the inclosure to the old way, along the way to the great street, along the street to the four boundaries then so to Calebrook, along the brook then so to Horsebrook, along the brook then so to the dike, along the dike to the Stour, then from the Stour to the dike, along the dike then to Cuthbert's tree, along the dike to Hearsecan hill, from Heahsecan hill to the dike, along the dike to Wenferth, along Wenferth then again to the Stour.

Now if anyone shall have been willing to preserve this my donation, may the supreme Goodness [*superna pietas*] preserve him here and in heaven. But if anyone shall have tried to diminish or destroy it, let him know that he will be accursed before the all-high God, unless he shall have duly made amends here to God and men. And these witnesses were present whose names become clear (*liquescent*) below :—

- | | |
|---|-------------|
| + I Burgred, king of the Mercians, will confirm this my donation with the sign of the holy cross of Christ. | |
| + I Æthelswith, queen, have agreed and subscribed. | |
| + I Ceorlweorth have agreed and subscribed. | |
| + I Wulfsig, bishop, have agreed and subscribed. | |
| + I Eadbald, bishop, have agreed and subscribed. | |
| + I Ceored, bishop, have agreed. | |
| + I Alhhun, bishop, have agreed. | |
| + I Deorlaf, have agreed and subscribed. | |
| + I. Aldred, abbot. | |
| Humberht, ealdorman. | Berhtferth. |
| Beornoth, ealdorman. | Æthelred. |
| Beornard, ealdorman. | Berhtic. |
| Eamberht, ealdorman. | Ceolmund. |
| Mucel, ealdorman. | Boldred. |
| + I Æthelwulf, ealdorman. | Eadgar. |
| Æthelheard. | Mucel. |

NOTES.

The place described in this charter is doubtless correctly identified by Birch as Wolverley, co. Worcester, which is situate on the river Stour near Kidderminster, and opposite the Staffordshire border and there seems to be no particular reason for doubting his identification of Soeges lea, the place to which it belonged, as Sedgley, co. Stafford. The actual boundaries of Wolverley are given in the deed, and may I hope be of use to the local antiquarian: I cannot recognize any name except the river Stour.

The witnesses, besides Burhred himself (king of Mercia 852 to 874), are his queen Æthelswith (sister of King Alfred), who signs

charters between 855 and 872 and died in 888; Ceorlweorth, from the position of his signature next after that of the queen, probably a scion of the royal house; four bishops, of whom Ceored was bishop of Leicester *c.* 839 to *c.* 878, Alhhun bishop of Worcester *c.* 846 to 872, and Deorlaf bishop of Hereford *c.* 862 to *c.* 876, the other two, Wulfsige and Eadbald, being doubtless also Mercian bishops whose sees however have not been definitely identified, though there are reasons for supposing that Eadbald was bishop of Lichfield; one abbot, Aldred; six ealdormen and eight others.

There is something wrong about the date, which does not agree with the indiction. Birch suggests that the words "vero decimo" should really have been "v decima" (as in the next charter), *i.e.*, xv, but even so the indiction would not exactly agree with the year A.D. 866, the indiction of which should be xiv.

NO. IV.

[*Cart. Sax.*, ii. 127, No. 514. From MS. Cotton. *Tiberius A.* xiii, f. 183*b*; Heming, *Chartul.*, ii. 410; *cf.* Kemble's *Cod. Dip.*, ii. 80, No. 291, and iii. 396, No. 291.]

Grant by Burhred, king of the Mercians, to the monks at Worcester of the land at Secceslea called Wlfordilea (Wolverley), given to Wulferd by the preceding deed. A.D. 866.

DE WLFARDILEA

✠ God and our Lord Jesus Christ reigning for ever. In the year of our Latin Lord's Incarnation DCCCLXVI, in the fifteenth indiction. I BURHRED, king of the Mercians, with the consent and advice of my older men, granting with a willing mind, give a certain part of my realm bestowed upon me by God, that is to say, two manse-holders at Secceslea which the countrymen call Wulfordilea with all things appertaining to them, namely meadows, pastures, fields and woods, to the brothers serving God in the monastery of Wigorn (Worcester) by such right of gift, that they may have these gifts of mine for ever freely and quit of all secular business except military service, and repair of bridge and fort, and that they may be faithful intercessors for the salvation of my soul.

This charter was written and confirmed under assent of suitable witnesses

living in the same monastery, whose names are noted below with the sign of our Lord's cross.

- | | |
|---|-------------------------------|
| + I Burhred, king of the Mercians, will confirm this my donation with the sign of the holy cross of Christ. | |
| + I Athelsuuyt, queen, have agreed. | |
| + I Alchun, bishop. | |
| + I Wlfsige, bishop. | + I Beornoth, ealdorman. |
| + I Eadbald, bishop. | + I Eanberht, ealdorman. |
| + I Aldred, abbot. | + I Athelbald, king's thegn. |
| + I Boldred, abbot. | + I Berhtferth, king's thegn. |
| + I Hunberht, ealdorman. | + I Ceolmund, king's thegn. |

[Boundaries given in Anglo-Saxon almost word for word as in last preceding deed.]

NOTES.

This is a grant by king Burhred to the monastery of Worcester of the land at Wolverley received in exchange by him from Wulferd under the last deed, the boundaries being precisely the same.

The witnesses are the king and Æthelswith his queen, Alchun or Alhhun bishop of Worcester and the Mercian bishops Wulfsige and Eadbald, two abbots Aldred and Boldred, four ealdormen and three king's thegns.

The date A.D. and the indiction do not exactly correspond (see my note above on the last preceding charter).

NO. V.

[*Cart. Sax.*, ii. 318, No. 642. From Hengwrt MS. No. 150, f. 345.]

Grant by king Æthelstan to his thegn Eadric of land at Hwituntun (qu. Whittington near Lichfield, or Whittington near Kinver co. Stafford?). A.D. 925.

NOTES.

Birch suggests that the subject of this grant is Whittington near Lichfield, but no boundaries are given in the MS., and there are so many places of the name of Whittington, including

another in Staffordshire near Kinver, a third in Worcestershire, and a fourth in Salop, that I have thought I was hardly justified in setting out this charter at length, though I do not like to ignore it altogether, especially as it is taken from the Hengwrt MS. The gift comprises seven "manentes" or householders, the grantee is the king's thegn Eadric, and the witnesses are the king himself, Ælfwine bishop of Lichfield *c.* 920 to *c.* 938, Winsige bishop of Dorchester *c.* 915 to *c.* 942, Wilfrid (or Wilferth) bishop of Worcester 922 to 929, Edgar bishop of Hereford *c.* 901 to *c.* 931, abbot Cynaht (possibly abbot of Evesham), and ealdormen, priests, monks, and king's thegns to the number of fifty-seven.

There is also another charter in Kemble's *Codex Diplomaticus*, iii. 245, No. 670, which relates to a place of the name of Hwintun, but I do not think that this can be either of the Staffordshire Whittingtons. It is a grant by bishop Oswald of Worcester, and is more likely to relate to Whittington, co. Worcester. In that case the boundaries are set out.

NO. VI.

[*Cart. Sax.*, ii. 505, No. 771. From Hengwrt MS. No. 150, f. 347.]

Grant by king Eadmund to Wulsye Mauř of lands at Alrewas and other places co. Stafford. Dated at Winchelcumb (Winchcombe) A.D. 942.

CARTA SANCTI EDMUNDI REGIS DE ALREWASSE 7 BROMLE 7 BARTON
FACTA ANNO DOMINI DCCCC^oXLIJ^o

✠ A perpetual inheritance, which in the theology of God the Holy Trinity *Latin.* remains essentially beyond all the devices of the human mind, must be procured earnestly at the willing price of merits.

Wherefore following truly the paternal footsteps of the ancient kings EADMUND, by the blessed protection of God king and ruler of the Anglo-Saxons, among innumerable bounties with which he has blessed the troops of every contest (*utriusque certaminis catervas*), is provoked by the eternal proverbs "A cheerful giver" *et cetera*, readily enriches and honours in a ² *Cor. ix.* wonderful manner WULSYE whose first name is Mauř, granting to him and ⁷ his heirs to be enjoyed for ever these lands, *i.e.* at Alrewasse and Bromleg and Barton and Tatenhyll and Brontiston and Stretton and Rothulfeston and

nor anything that I can find to throw light upon his identity beyond the fact that he was called "Mauñ," but there are words at the end of the attestation clause, which suggest that the lands were conferred upon him in consideration of some military service. The name "Mauñ," which is called a *prenomem* not a *cognomen* (if there is any real distinction between the two), does not appear to be an Anglo-Saxon word, though Wulfsige is an Anglo-Saxon name, and I can only suggest that it may be either a Celtic word (*cf. Welsh* "mawr," great), or else the Latin word "*Maurus*" for a Moor or Blackamoor, in which last case the proper Anglo-Saxon form might perhaps be "Wulfsige se blaca," *i.e.* Black Wulseye. It may be worth notice that in a document dated twenty years later in 962, the joint will of Beorhtric and Ælfswyth his wife (*Cart. Sax.*, Nos. 1132 and 1133; *Cod. Dip.*, Nos. 492 and 1242), two Wulfsies are mentioned, and one of them is distinguished as "Wulfsie se blaca" (*i.e.* the black or swarthy) or "*Wulfsie cognomine Blaca*": but the lands disposed of by this will apparently lay in Kent. There was a minister, or king's thegn, of the name of Wulfsie who attests charters in 931 and 940 and again in 947 (*Cart. Sax.*, Nos. 670, 764, 820). Whoever the donee of the present charter may have been, it seems probable that the lands were afterwards forfeited by him: at any rate only a few years later, in 956, we find some farms at Branteston (Branston), one of the places named in Wulseye's grant, being granted by king Eadmund's son and eventual successor, king Eadwig, to another king's thegn bearing the same name as himself, Eadwig (see *post*, No. XVII). It is difficult to see how so many as forty hides are made up. Comparing the places named here with the descriptions in Domesday I find that Alrewas (which in the Confessor's time was in the possession of earl Algar) comprised 3 hides, King's Bromley (earl Harold) 3 hides, Abbots' Bromley (Abbot of Burton) $\frac{1}{2}$ a hide, Barton (earl Algar) 3 hides, Branston (countess Godeva) $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides, Stretton (Abbot of Burton) $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides, Rolleston (earl Morcar) $2\frac{1}{2}$ hides, Clifton Campville (then waste but part of the *Terra Regis* in 1086) 8 hides in Staffordshire and (Leuric and Levenot) 3 carucates in Derbyshire, altogether about 26 instead of 40 hides. Tatenhill and Haunton are not separately mentioned in Domesday, but I suppose that the former is probably

included under Barton and the latter under Clifton. Stretton and Rolleston were both mentioned in Wulfric Spot's will in 1004, Stretton being left by him direct to Burton Abbey, while Rolleston came to the monks under a royal charter dated in 1008 in exchange for two other more distant vills after forfeiture by the devisee Ælfhelm (see *post*, No. XXIV).

Of the witnesses to the above charter Wulstan was archbishop of York 931 to 956, Wulfgar bishop of Lichfield *c.* 938 to *c.* 949, Cenwald or Kinewold bishop of Worcester 929 to 957, Wulfhelm bishop of Wells 938 to *c.* 956, and Cynesige bishop of Berkshire 925 to 949. Birch conjectures that the words at the end of the king's signature, which I have enclosed within square brackets, are misplaced, and that they should come in the body of the deed instead.

No. VII.

[*Cart. Sax.*, ii. 506, No. 772. From Hengwrt MS. No. 150, f. 347.]

Grant by king Eadmund to Wulsie Mauř of lands at Walton-on-Trent and other places in Derbyshire, but including Newbold in Staffordshire (?). A.D. 942.

CARTA SANCTI EDMUNDI REGIS DE WALETONE ET CALDEWELLE ETC.

ANNO DOMINI DCCCC^oXLIJ^o

✠ A perpetual inheritance which in the theology of the Holy Trinity *et cetera ut supra* [*i.e.*, as in the last preceding charter] "A cheerful giver" *et cetera* readily exalts and honours in a wonderful manner WULSIE whose first [name] is Mauř, granting to him these lands by name noted below, on condition that he and his posterity obey the royal dignity with most faithful steadfastness. This is the description as regards the lands. At **Waletone** and the southern half of the men of **Cotun** (?) (*suthenne monna Cotuhalfne*), and at **Caldewelle**, and at **Draca Hlawe**, and at **Newe Bolde**, and at **Linton**. These lands king Eadmund, in the year of our Lord's Incarnation DCCCC^oXLIJ^o, and in the third course of years after by the free bounty of the eternal king he assumed the sovereignty, has bestowed as gifts with the attestation of the nobles whose names are noted below, to be

Latin.

Anglo-Saxon.

Latin.

held by Wulsie with a safe hand not by reason of the love of money but by the zeal of his most devoted fidelity.

- + I Edmund, king, of this gift *etc. ut supra*.
- + Oda, archbishop.
- + Wulstan, archbishop, and the other bishops and ealdormen as above in the last preceding charter.
- + Altogether with the rest *ut supra* "Render the things that are Cæsar's" *etc.* Amen let every mouth say in Hebrew, and in Latin So be it.

NOTES.

All the places mentioned in this grant, with one exception, lie in Derbyshire just over the river Trent, which here forms the county boundary. These are Walton-on-Trent, half Coton-in-the-Elms, Cauldwell, Drakelow, Newbold and Linton. The one exception is Newbold, which must I think be the neighbouring hamlet of that name in Barton-under-Needwood on the Staffordshire side of the river: it lies on the west side of the Roman road leading from Lichfield to Burton. There are places of the same name both in Derbyshire and Leicestershire, but these are all situate much further from Walton-on-Trent and the other places included in this grant. At the time of Domesday Walton-on-Trent (Waletune) was in the hands of the king, having been held in the time of the Confessor by earl Algar, who between Walton and Rosliston (Redlaueston) held six carucates. Coton-in-the-Elms (Cotune) appears in Domesday as two carucates then in the hands of the Abbot of Burton, but in the Confessor's time held by Algar: it was in fact given to Burton Abbey by earl Morcar, but taken possession of by the Conqueror and by him subsequently restored to the abbey (*Derbyshire V. C. H.*, i. 298): the assessment was two carucates. Cauldwell (Caldewelle) was also in the hands of the abbot at the time of Domesday: it had been held by Ælfric in the Confessor's time, and had been given by the Conqueror to the abbey: it was assessed at two carucates. Drakelow (Drachelawe) appears in Domesday as held by Nigel de Stafford, having been held in the Confessor's time by Edric: Drakelow and Heathcote (Hedcote) between them were assessed at four carucates. Newbold, if the Staffordshire hamlet, is not expressly mentioned in Domesday. Linton (Linctune) appears under the lands of Henry de Ferrers: part of it was in Derby-

shire and had in the Confessor's time been held by Leuric and assessed at two carucates, while the other part was in Leicester-shire and was at the time of Domesday held under Henry de Ferrers by Nigel, and this was assessed at one carucate.

The witnesses to this deed include Oda, archbishop of Canterbury 942 to 958, as well as all the witnesses to the preceding deed.

No. VIII.

[*Cart. Sax.*, ii. 507, No. 773. From Hengwrt MS. No. 150, f. 347.]

Grant by king Eadmund to Wulfsie Mauř of lands at Croxall and other places in Derbyshire, including Stapenhill (now in Staffordshire). A.D. 942.

CARTA EJUSDEM DE CROXALE ꝛ CETERA DCCCC^oXLIJ^o

Latin.

A perpetual inheritance *et cetera ut supra* [*i.e.* as in the last two preceding charters]. The same king EDMUND to the same WULFSIE has given Crokeshalle and Canton and Waleton and Drakel' and Stapenh' and Sulueston *et cetera ut supra*.

NOTES.

Most, if not all, of these places also lay on the Derbyshire side of the river Trent, *viz.*: Croxall, Catton, Walton-on-Trent, Drakelow and Stapenhill, "Canton" being perhaps a clerical error for "Cauton." The parish of Croxall includes the Staffordshire hamlet of Oakly, and Stapenhill is now also included within the borders of Staffordshire. Sulueston may possibly be a mistake for Suluerton, *i.e.* Swinnerton in Staffordshire, or it may be Snelston in Derbyshire (*Domesday* Snellestune), but I think it is more likely to be some place which I cannot identify in the same neighbourhood as the others. At the time of Domesday Oakly (Aclei) was in the hands of the king, and it had been held by Achi in king Edward's day: it was assessed at one hide. Stapenhill appears in Domesday (under Derbyshire) as to part under the lands of the abbot of Burton, who held it both then and in king Edward's day, and this was assessed at four carucates and two bovates, *i.e.* 4¼ carucates: as to other part under the

lands of Nigel de Stafford, held in king Edward's day by Godric, and assessed at 6 bovates, *i.e.* $\frac{3}{4}$ of a carucate,—altogether 5 carucates. Swinnerton (Sulvertone) appears in Domesday under the lands of Robert de Stafford as then held under him by Aslen (the direct ancestor of the Swinnertons), having been held by Broder in king Edward's day, and assessed at two hides. Snelston appears there as within the soke of Vfre (Mickleover), which was held by the Abbot of Burton. Croxall (Crocheshalle) and Catton (Chatun) were both held by Henry de Ferrers and previously by Siward, and each of them was assessed at three carucates. Walton-on-Trent and Drakelow I have discussed under the last preceding charter.

No. IX.

[*Cart. Sax.*, iii. 40, No. 884. From Hengwrt MS. No. 150 f. 348.]

*Grant by king Eadred to Uhtred "miles" and "dux" of land
Badecanwell. A.D. 949.*

NOTES.

If it had not been for the fact that Birch identifies Badecanwell as Bucknall cum Bagnall, in the parish of Stoke, co. Stafford, I should never have thought of even noticing this charter in a series of Staffordshire deeds. To me it seems infinitely more likely that the place is Bakewell in Derbyshire, of which we read in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* for the year 924 that king Eadweard (the Elder) went from Nottingham "to Peakland at Bakewell (*on Peaclond to Badecanwiellan*) and commanded a burh to be built near there and manned." At the time of Domesday Badecanwelle (Bakewell) was in the hands of the king, and there were two priests and a church there, also a knight holding 16 acres and 2 bordars under the king. In the postscript to this charter beneath the names of the witnesses (which include the two archbishops Oda and Wulstan) there is a reference to a *cænubium* (*i.e.* *cænobium*, a monastery or convent) at Badecanwelle: there is no mention in the *Monasticon* of any monastery at either Bucknall or Bakewell, but the existence of a monastery at the latter place may perhaps

account for Bakewell's second priest at the time of Domesday. There was an "Uhtred eorl" who attests charters this same year (949).

NO. X.

[*Cart. Sax.*, iii. 41, No. 885. From Hengwrt MS. No. 150, f. 349.]

Grant by king Eadred to his thegn Æthelstan of land at Eatun.
A.D. 949.

CARTA EDREDI REGIS DE EATUN. ANNO DOMINI DCCCC^oXLIX^o

Latin.

✠ Whatever has to be done among seculars in all lands ought to be fortified with open letters, that what the memory of the mind forgets may be kept ever present by the letter, lest perchance also by the envy of greed that be lost which has been justly acquired by the gift of right dealing.

Wherefore I EADRED, by the assent of the grace of God king of the Angles, wish it to be known to all my faithful people that I give and grant to a certain faithful thegn of mine by name ÆTHELSTAN for his own loving obedience and for sixty mancuses of proved and purest gold ten manses of land in the place which those dwelling around call in the vulgar tongue *Eatun*, that he may have and possess it during his life and also after the end of his life may leave it as an inheritance to whatsoever heir he will. Let then the aforesaid land be free from every worldly service, three things excepted : repair of the highway bridge, erection of royal fort, and also military service of the people.

Now if anyone, which Heaven forbid, kindled by the flame of greed shall try to destroy this gift of ours, let him be damned with all the sons of perdition of Belial in the torments of Tartarus, unless coming to his senses he shall have made amends with worthy satisfaction.

The aforesaid land seems to be surrounded on all sides by these boundaries. || First from the south mere dike, etc.||

And that this charter may obtain the inviolable strength of endurance,

- + I Eadred, king, am the first to confirm it with my royal hand.
- + The mark of Eadgifu, the mother of the same king.
- + I Oda, archbishop of the church of Canterbury, corroborate it.
- + I Wulfstan, archbishop of the city of York, affirm it.
- + I Theodred, bishop of London, attest it.
- + I Ælfheh, bishop of Winchester, countersign it.
- + I Ælfsige, bishop, agree to it.
- + I Ælfric, bishop, deliver it.
- + I Æthelgar, bishop, long for it.
- + I Ælfric, bishop, desire it.

Anglo-Saxon.
Latin.

✠ This charter was passed in the year of our Lord's Incarnation DCCCCXLIX°, the seventh indiction, in the second year of the reign of king Eadred.

NOTES.

The name Eatun (*i.e.* east town) is such a common one that I should have hesitated to include this charter in the series of Staffordshire deeds but for the fact that Birch labels the place as Church Eaton, co. Stafford. The MS. does not set out the boundaries beyond the first few words, which might apply to any of the innumerable Eatons in England. The first six witnesses are identified by the attestation clause itself: of the last four I cannot assign Ælfsige's see, Ælfric was bishop of Hereford 940 to *c.* 954, Æthelgar bishop of Crediton 934 to 953, and the other Ælfric bishop of Ramsbury 942 to *c.* 950.

No. XI.

[*Cart. Sax.*, iii. 48, No. 890. From Hengwrt MS. No. 150, f. 349.]


Grant by king Eadred to Wulfhelm, knight, of land at Mærcham (Marchington on the river Dove, in Hanbury parish, co. Stafford). A.D. 951.

CARTA EDREDI REGIS DE MARCHANTON SUB NEDWODE. DCCCCLI°

✠ First a prophetic foretelling, and then an apostolic discourse, and what is Latin. far more excellent a proclaiming of the gospel of Jesus Christ points out all teaching (*dogmata*), saying "Give and it shall be given unto you." Luke vi.

Therefore EADRED, king of the Angles, with liberal hand enriches³⁸ honourably those whom he wills. This can the good knight WULFHELM with others truthfully make known; whom he blesses with the use for ever of this land *æt* Mærcham, except the construction of city and bridge and the obedience of military service, granting to him and his heirs this land to be enjoyed with things great and small belonging to it . . . ~

- + Eadred, king of Albion, with gracious hand in the year of our Lord's Incarnation DCCCC and LI, and in the sixth register of years after he began to wield the royal sceptre, with the consent of his senators whose names are reckoned here, has steadfastly confirmed this bounty with the banner of victory (*triumphali vexillo, i.e.* the cross).
- + Oda, archbishop, with the rest of his suffragans,

- + Theodred, Alfric, Wulfsige, Alfred, Cynsige, Koenwald, Æthelgar, Wulfhelm, Osetel, has wisely countersigned.
- + Six ealdormen and eorls wrote together. Five king's thegns and prefects sealed.
- + Eadhelm, abbot, and Dunstan marked these gifts with the sign  of the holy cross.

Now the aforesaid king in beseeching commands and in commanding beseeches by the gospel key, which Jesus Christ himself bestowed upon Peter with apostolic authority of binding and loosing, power being handed down in order that for evermore no person deceived by diabolical fraud may prevail to destroy the freedom of this gift, but rather that he may study to fill up the good report of the giver, and may in the presence of Christ in pure love together with the choirs of angels in the school of Jesus (*Ihesuali gymnasium* [*sic*]?) find great rewards without end. Amen.

First from the valley brook (*denes broke*) to Gillundes dike, from the dike to the hill, from the hill to Pirebrook, from Pirebrook to Pirewasse, from Pirewasse to the white moor, from the white moor to the great vale, from the great vale to Stangshall (*stenges healh*), from Stangshall to Pottersley, from Pottersley to Cundesley, from Cundesley to Cundesfen, from Cundesfen to lime brook (*lind broc*), from lime brook to hollow brook (*holan broce*), from hollow brook to the Dove (*dufan*), and along the Dove into the valley brook again.

Anglo-Saxon.

NOTES.

In the body of the deed the place is called Mærcham, but in the heading it is referred to as Marchanton-sub-Nedwode, and this is confirmed by the mention in the boundaries of "dufan" (the river Dove). I think therefore that we may accept Birch's identification of this place as Marchington in Hanbury parish as correct, although there is a place in Nottinghamshire called Marcham. Perhaps someone skilled in local lore will be able to identify some of the place-names in the boundary description. I can only suggest that the valley brook may be Tadd Brook, and Cundesley, possibly Scounslow. Marchington was one of the places mentioned in the will of Wulfric Spot (1004), and was by him left to Wulfage, probably his nephew.

Of the grantee, the knight Wulfhelm, I know nothing, but there was a minister or king's thegn of that name who attested charters in this reign (*cf.* the Swinford charter, *post.*, No. XIII). The witnesses include Oda archbishop of Canterbury 942 to 958, Theodred bishop of London *c.* 915 to *c.* 960, Ælfric bishop of Hereford 940 to *c.* 954, Wulfsige bishop of Sherborne 943 to

958, Ælfred bishop of Selsey *c.* 942 to 956, Cynesige bishop of Lichfield 949 to *c.* 964, Coenwald or Kinewold bishop of Worcester 929 to 957, Æthelgar bishop of Crediton 934 to 953, Wulfhelm bishop of Wells to *c.* 956, and Oscytel bishop of Dorchester *c.* 942 to *c.* 956, afterwards archbishop of York. There was an abbot Eadelm, for whose death punishment was inflicted on the inhabitants of Thelford in 952 (*A.-S. Chron.*), and there was also an Eadelm abbot of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, in 958 (*Cod. Dip.*, ii. 355, No. 477). Dunstan, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, was abbot of Glastonbury from 944 to 956.

NO. XII.

[*Cart Sax.*, iii. 50, No. 891. From Hengwrt MS. 150, f. 350.]

Grant by king Eadred to his thegn Ælfeah of land at Northtune.

A.D. 951.

NOTES.

The boundaries, though set out apparently in the charter itself, are not given in the MS. from which it was taken by Birch, and the name Norton is such a common one that in the absence of the boundary description identification is quite impossible. Birch however suggests that the place is Norton under Cannock, co. Stafford, though in a note he refers to *Mon. Ang.*, iv. 38, where (he says) Dugdale identifies it as Norton in Scarsdale, co. Derby, near Chesterfield. I have not succeeded in verifying the reference in the *Monasticon*, but having regard to Birch's suggestion I do not like to pass by this charter entirely without comment, though I can find no sufficient ground for claiming it as a Staffordshire deed and giving a translation of it. The donee appears to be Ælfsheah, the brother of Ælf here afterwards ealdorman of Mercia; and he himself soon after received the Hampshire ealdormanry about the year 956 and died in 971.

NO. XIII.

[*Cart. Sax.*, iii. 223, No. 1023. From *Registr. Album penes diaconum et capitulum Wellensis ecclesie* (14th to 15th cent.), f. 289b; Hardy's transcript in Record Office; and Abridgment in MS. Cotton., *Vitellius E. V.*, f. 124.]

Grant by king Eadred to his thegn Burhelm of land at Swinford on the river Stour (qu. King's Swinford, co. Stafford ?).
Not dated, *qu.* A.D. 946-955.

BURHELMES BOC A ON ECE ERFE

Latin. ✠ In the name of the Saviour of the World and Redeemer of the human race, Jesus Christ our Lord, who alone with the Father and with the Holy Spirit reigns for ever. It is wont to happen frequently that ordinances of things well advanced by momentary spaces of time are covered as it were with a kind of cloud of black darkness, unless they have been confirmed by the precautions of writings and under the corroborative testimony of many faithful people.

Wherefore I EADRED, king of the Angles and governor and ruler of the other nations dwelling within their ambit, have given to my thegn called BURHELM six manses of land in that place to which the country people according to their custom of name-giving and in sportive language have given the name of Swinford, to the intent that he may have and possess it permanently as long as he lives and after his time may leave it for ever to whomsoever he will, foreigner or stranger, in fields, pastures, meadows, woods. Let this aforesaid land be free from every worldly hindrance together with everything duly belonging to it except fort and bridge and obedience of military service.

Anglo-Saxon. ✠ The aforesaid land is surrounded on all sides by these boundaries. First at Swynford, from Swinford to Pecgesford, from Pecgesford to Theonfanford, from Deonfanford to Deonflincford, from Deonflincford to the hollow back, from the hollow back to the weak bridge, from the weak bridge to Tigwell thence to holly-tree (?) (*in ymman holiq*), from holly-tree (*ymman holiqne*) to the valley end, from the valley end to the thicket above the fox-earth (*fox cotun*) and along the dike to the brook at the stone quarry, from the stone quarry by the brink to Walacroft, from Walacroft to the southern hollow back, and along the back towards Lower Eastcote, and along the dike to Grendle's mere, from Grendle's mere to the stone cave, from the stone cave along the down to Stiran mere [*qu.* Sturgeon's mere], from Stiranmere to the street, and along the street to the posts (*stapelas*), from the posts (*stapelum*) to Windofer, from Windofer to Oakly, from Oakly to Lusdune, from Lusdune to (*sicanbyrig*), from (*sicanbyrig*) to the street, and along the street to the boundary dike

(*meredic*), from the boundary dike to the Stour, and along the Stour again to Swinford.

Which if any one placed under the instigation [*face*, literally torch] of the Latin devil busies himself in disturbing with any stains, let him know that he must fall from the higher regions into the lowest places under the compulsion of devils, unless he shall first have preferred to make satisfaction here.

- + I Oda, archbishop, have agreed.
- + I Oscetel, archbishop, have not refused.
- + I Cynsige, bishop, have concluded.
- + I Adulf, bishop, have approved (*præpunxi*).
- + I Ædelstan, ealdorman.
- + I Ædelmund, ealdorman. + Ælfwold, king's thegn.
- + I Alhelm, ealdorman. + Athelwine, king's thegn.
- + I Ædelsige, king's thegn. + Ælfsige, king's thegn.
- + Wulfhelm, king's thegn. + Ufa, king's thegn.

NOTES.

The mention in the boundary description of the river Stour (Sture) makes it almost certain that the place described is either King's Swinford in Staffordshire or Old Swinford on the opposite side of the river in Worcestershire: perhaps someone well acquainted with the neighbourhood may be able to identify some of the other boundaries mentioned. Grendel was a monster who was supposed to infest the moors and fens, and to have been destroyed by Beowulf.

Burhelm, the grantee, is called a minister or king's thegn: I know nothing more about him.

The witnesses include Oda archbishop of Canterbury and Oscytel archbishop of York, Cynesige bishop of Lichfield 949 to *c.* 964, and Athulf bishop of Hereford *c.* 954 to 1012, three *duces* and five *ministri*. The charter is not dated, but it was granted by king Eadred, and the coupling of his name with that of Oscytel archbishop of York gives rise to a difficulty which I cannot altogether explain. King Eadred died 23 Nov. 955: Stubbs (*Reg. Sacr. Ang.*) says that Oscytel's predecessor, Wulfstan archbishop of York, died 26 Dec. 956, and gives 958 as the date of the appointment of Oscytel, though the date given by Florence of Worcester is 956. Oscytel was previously bishop of Dorchester, and he signs several charters as bishop (and not as archbishop) in 956 after the accession of king Eadwig. However we know from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* that Wulfstan

was imprisoned by king Eadred in 952, and that in 954 he "again obtained a bishopric at Dorchester," no mention being made there of the archbishopric. Can it be that Oscytel, till then bishop of Dorchester, had in the meantime been appointed to the see of York, although Wulfstan was still alive, that he acted as archbishop until the death of king Eadred, and that a year later, after Wulfstan's death, he was reappointed archbishop by king Eadwig? If so, the date of this charter would be between 952 and 955. Or there may be a mistake in the name of the king, which should perhaps have been Eadwig.

No. XIV.

[*Cart. Sax.*, ii. 31, No. 951. From Hengwrt MS. 150, f. 351.]

Grant by king Eadwig to his 'man' Mæglsowen of land at Mortun. A.D. 956.

CARTA EADWIG REGIS DE MORTUNE. DCCCC.LVI.

Latin. ✠ In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and in the year of our Lord's Incarnation DCCCC.LVI^o, the fourteenth indiction, I EADWIG, king of the Angles and governor and ruler of the other races dwelling within the ambit, have heard from the wise and prudent this honeyed sweetness of divine discourse, that in the day of trial good will shall be counted for good work. Therefore I have given to a certain man of mine called by the name of MÆGLSOTHEN [or MÆGLSOWEN] three manses,—I have bestowed [them] upon him by willing bounty in that place where the country people by ancient use have given the name *æt Mortune*, so that he may possess this [land] for his days during the course (*tramitibus*) of his life, and that after him it may be left to whatsoever heir he will for a perpetual inheritance. Let this aforesaid land with all things duly belonging to it be free in fields, pastures, meadows, woods, except these three things, military service or the building of bridge or fort. Now if anyone shall have taken anything away from this gift, let him know that he is guilty every hour of his life and is on his way to the shades of Tartarus.

This land is seen to be bounded, etc.

- + I Eadwig, king of the Angles, have irrevocably granted.
- + I Eadgar, brother of the same king, have consented.
- + I Oda, archbishop, have corroborated with the sign of the holy cross.
- + I Ælfsing, president, have impressed the seal of the holy cross.
- + I Cenwald, bishop, have countersigned.
- + I Oscytel, bishop, have confirmed.
- + I Osulf, bishop, have acquiesced. And nine other ealdormen and king's thegns.

NOTES.

The name Morton is a common one, but I see no particular reason to doubt that Birch may be correct in assigning this Morton to Staffordshire. It may perhaps be Moreton, a hamlet of Marchington in the parish of Hanbury, but I regard this identification as very doubtful. The correct name of the grantee is probably Mæglowen. The witnesses include king Eadwig and his brother Eadgar, who in the following year was chosen king by the Mercians and afterwards on Eadwig's death succeeded to the whole kingdom: also archbishop Oda and four bishops, *viz.*, Ælfsige bishop of Winchester 951 to 959, Kinewold bishop of Worcester 929 to 957, Oscytel bishop of Dorchester 942 and archbishop of York shortly after the date of this deed (see my note to charter No. XIII), and Oswulf bishop of Ramsbury *c.* 950 to 970, besides nine ealdormen and king's thegns whose names are not given in the MS.

No. XV.

[*Cart. Sax.*, iii. 122, No. 944. From Hengwrt MS. 150, f. 352.]

Grant by king Eadwig to his beloved friend Æthelgeard of land at Niwantune (Newton). A.D. 956.

NOTES.

Niwantune is the inflected form of the dative case of Niwentun following the preposition "æt." There are at least two places in Staffordshire called Newton, one in the parish of Blithfield and the other between Draycott and Leigh, and both are mentioned in Domesday. But I think that Birch is probably right in suggesting that this was Newton Solney in Derbyshire (near Burton-on-Trent but on the other side of the river), which I believe to be also one of the two places of that name mentioned in the will of Wulfric Spot (1004). I have not therefore thought it necessary to give a translation of this charter.

No. XVI.

[*Cart. Sax.*, iii. 135, No. 954. From Hengwrt MS. No. 150, f. 352.]

Grant by king Eadwig to his thegn Æthelnoth of land at Deorlaueston (Darlaston) on the river Trent, co. Stafford. A.D. 956.

CARTA EADWIG REGIS DE DARLAVESTON.
DCCCC.LVI. INDICIONE XIII.

Latin.

✠ In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. To all to whom [according to] the opinion of Christianity it has been granted by God the archruler of the sky by his abundant kindness that by the prosperity of this present and passing life with all our efforts we are able by his help to restore the lost and wicked ones. As the psalmist has said speaking thus: "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom." Wherefore I EADWIG king of the Angles and governor and ruler of all the land of Britain [have given] to a certain faithful thegn of mine whom some call by the well known name of ÆTHELNOTHE some portion of land in a place which is called **Deorlavestun**, that he may have and possess it as long as he lives and after his own time may leave it to whatsoever heir he will for an eternal inheritance. Let then the aforesaid land be free from every worldly hindrance together with all things duly belonging to it, fields, pastures, meadows, woods, without [*qu. except*] military service and the construction of bridge or fort.

If anyone shall have tried to destroy this, which God forbid, let him know that he will have to render an account before God and his angels, unless he shall have preferred first to make amends here by full satisfaction. The aforesaid land is surrounded by these boundaries.

These are the land boundaries at Derlauestone. First it adjoins [*fehth on*] the Trent where the foul brook shoots [*scyaet*] into the Trent, thence along the brook on the opposite side of the stream to the foul ford, from the foul ford to the broad ford, from the broad ford west along the street to the wheat-croft, from the croft to the green hill, from the hill along the valley till it comes to the street at the three (*thrym*) land boundaries, thence along the way to the dike end, from the dike straight to the short stone, from the stone to the spring (*wyllle*), from the spring to the beautiful vale (*færdene*), from the vale so again to the Trent.

Latin.

This charter was written in the year of our Lord's incarnation DCCCC.LVI., in the fourteenth indiction.

- + I Eadwig, king of the Angles, have irrevocably granted.
- + I Eadgar, the king's brother, etc. as above [*i.e.* as in the two charters which precede this one in the MS., being those numbered above XIV and XV].

Anglo-Saxon.

NOTES.

This place is clearly Darlaston, near Stone, in Pirehill hundred, co. Stafford, as the boundaries mention the river Trent (although there is another Darlaston near Walsall, in Offlow hundred). It was one of the places named in Wulfric Spot's will (1004), and by him left to Burton Abbey. The grantee, Æthelnoth, is described as one of the king's *ministri* or thegns, but I know nothing about him. As to the witnesses see my notes to charter No. XIV, *sup*.

No. XVII.

[*Cart. Sax.*, iii. 169, No. 978. From nearly contemporary charter (said to be badly written and imperfect in places) in possession of the Marquess of Anglesey; Mr. W. B. Sanders' transliteration in *Ord. Surv. Fac. of Anglo-Saxon MSS.*, part iii., pl. penult.; and Hengwrt MS. No. 150, f. 351.]

Grant by king Eadwig to his thegn Eadwig of land at Brantestun (Branston), near Burton on Trent, co. Stafford. A.D. 956.

✠ Our Lord Jesus Christ reigning for ever. It is manifest to all men that Latin. all things celestial and terrestrial are governed by the providence of God, which the anxiety of this mortal life laments and bewails in the loss of dear ones and friends. Therefore the honeyed oracles of the divine call persuade us by frequent exhortations to sure assents, that together with these fugitive and doubtless transitory possessions perpetually abiding kingdoms are to be obtained by the good will of God.

Therefore I EADWIG king of the Angles and of the rest of the races dwelling within the ambit [have given] to a certain faithful thegn of mine called by the name of EADWIG some part of the land, to wit eight manses of land, in the place which is called **Brantestun**, that he may have and possess it for his life and after his own time may leave it to whatsoever heir he will for a perpetual inheritance. Moreover let the aforesaid land be free together with all things that duly belong to it, fields, pastures, meadows, except these three things, military service and the construction of bridge or fort. Now if anyone, which we hope will not be, shall have wished to plot or destroy against this decree of ours, let him know that he will have seriously to render an account in the day of judgment before the judgment-seat of the Lord, unless he shall first have made due amends for it before his death.

These are the land boundaries at Brantestune. From the stud-fold's east Anglo-Saxon corner to the pit, from the pit to the south barrow (*beorh*), from the south

barrow to the thorn stub, from the stub to the combe's head, from the combe straight to the torrent (*limenan*), down along the stream till it comes to the willow-beds (*wiliabys*) at the little thorn, from the thorn to the middle of the mere, from the mere straight to the little brook, up along the combe to the jagged barrow (*sceardan beorge*), from the jagged barrow to the rough mound, from the rough mound to the stone barrow (*beorh*), from the stone barrow again to the stud-fold.

Latin

This donation was made in the year of our Lord's Incarnation DCCCCLVI. in the fourteenth indiction.

I Eadwig, king of the Angles, have confirmed this with the super-
scription of the holy cross ✠.

I Eadgar, the youth, have corroborated.

I Oda, arch-president, have marked.

I Ælfsige, bishop, have agreed.

I Osðlf, bishop, have assented.

I Byrhtelm, bishop, have declared.

I Daniel, bishop, have subscribed.

Æthelstan

+ Ælfsige, ealdorman.	+ Ælfgar, king's thegn.
+ Æthelrig, ealdorman.	+ Byrhtferth, king's thegn.
+ Eadmund, ealdorman.	+ Ælf, king's thegn.
+ Ælfhere, ealdorman.	+ Æthelmær, king's thegn.
+ Æthelwold, ealdorman.	+ Ælfred, king's thegn.
+ Æthelmund, ealdorman.	+ Wulfric, king's thegn.

Anglo-Saxon.

Endorsed:—✠ This is the land book at Brantestune that Eadwig king booked to Eadwig his thegn in everlasting inheritance.

Latin.

And a later endorsement:—"Bronteston DCCCCLV [*sic*] Indictione XIII."

NOTES.

There can be no doubt that this place in Branston near Burton-on-Trent, which was given by king Eadmund to Wulfsie Maur in 942 (*sup.* No. VI), and which appears to have come again into the hands of the king. It was afterwards given by earl Leuric to Burton Abbey, though it is entered in Domesday as having belonged to his wife the Countess Godeva or Godiva in the Confessor's time: it was assessed at $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides. I know nothing of Eadwig, the grantee under this grant, except that he is described as a king's thegn. The witnesses, besides the king and his young brother Eadgar, are Oda archbishop of Canterbury 942 to 958, Ælfsige bishop of Winchester 951 to 959 Oswulf bishop of Ramsbury *c.* 950 to 970, Byrhtelm bishop of Wells 956 to 973, and Daniel bishop of Cornwall *c.* 950 to *c.* 965, six ealdormen (one of whose names is corrected from Ælfsige to

Æthelstan) and six king's thegns. Among the ealdormen we recognise the names of Ælfhere of Mercia and Æthelwold or Æthelweald of East Anglia : the latter was the son of Æthelstan the Half-king, and his widow, Ælfthryth, the daughter of Ordgar, afterwards married king Eadgar.

Birch suggests that the word "*limenan*" which occurs in the boundary description may be the old name for the river Trent ; but we find the name "*trentan*" in the Darlaston charter of the same date (No. XVI *ante*), and surely the word "*limenan*" must be a form of "*hlimme*," which Bosworth and Toller (*Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*) render "a torrent."

The original charter was in the possession of the Marquess of Anglesey, the successor of Burton Abbey, when Sanders made his facsimile reproduction, and I presume that it is still at Beaudesert.

No. XVIII.

[*Cart. Sax.*, iii. 333, No. 1100. From Hengwrt MS. No. 150, f. 353.]

Grant by king Eadgar to his thegn Wulfget of lands at Duddeston (Duddeston in the parish of Aston near Birmingham, co. Warwick ?) and Ernlege (Arley, co. Stafford ?). A.D. 963.

CARTA EADGARI REGIS DE ÆRNLEGE. DCCCC.LXIII.

✠ Having obtained publicly with the assent of the authority of the Ruler Latin, throned on high the government of the whole of Albion, [and] not unmindful that by reason of this things restored to me should be granted, that by these I may promptly gain things eternal, I EADGAR, king of the Angles, have bestowed a certain portion of land scattered in two places, *viz.* : three householders in the celebrated place which is called by the name *æt Duddestone*, three in like manner *æt Ernlege* upon a certain very (*oppido*) faithful thegn of mine who is called by the knowing ones (*Gnosticis*) of this country by the noble name of WULFGET in perpetual inheritance in consideration of his most devoted obedience, so that he having gratified his wish (*voti compos*) may have it himself during his life together with all things for use, *viz.* meadows, pastures, woods, and after the end of his life may leave it free from burden to whatsoever heirs (*cleronimis*) he may wish. Let then the aforesaid land be free from every yoke of earthly servitude, three things excepted, *viz.* fixed military service and the repair of bridge or fort.

So if anyone shall have wished to wrest this gift of ours to any other purpose than what we have ordained, let him be deprived of the fellowship of the holy church of God and punished with the eternal fires of the deep pit, sorrowing for ever with Judas the betrayer of Christ and his accomplices, if he shall not have made amends with suitable satisfaction for the wrong that he has done against our decree. This land is surrounded by these boundaries, etc.

In the year of our Lord's Incarnation DCCCC.LXIII. this charter was written with the consent of these witnesses whose names are noted below.

- + I Eadgar, king of the Angles, have granted.
- + I Dunstan, archbishop, have corroborated.
- + I Oscytel, archbishop, have confirmed.
- + I Osulf, bishop, have made firm.
- + I Byrthelm, bishop, have acquiesced.
- + I Ethelwold, abbot, and nine other ealdormen and king's thegns.

NOTES.

There is no mention of Duddeston in Domesday. Ernlege appears under the heading of the Clerks or Canons of Handone (Wolverhampton), where it is stated that the Canons held two hides in Ernlege and that there was belonging to this land half a hide in the other Ernlege which Osbern FitzRichard had taken away by force from the Canons. This Ernlege is Upper Arley in the extreme south-west corner of Staffordshire, near the borders of Shropshire and Worcestershire; it has been recently transferred to Worcestershire. There is however another Arley, Lower Arley or King's Arley, a little lower down the Severn in Worcestershire opposite Stourport.

Of the grantee, Wulfget, more will be said later under No. XXII *inf.*, which is Wulfget's will.

The witnesses to this grant besides the king himself are the celebrated St. Dunstan, who was abbot of Glastonbury 944 to 956, and on Eadgar's accession became successively bishop of Worcester and of London, and finally archbishop of Canterbury from 960 to 988, Oscytel archbishop of York *c.* 956 to 971, Oswulf bishop of Ramsbury *c.* 950 to 970, Byrthelm bishop of Wells 956 to 973, abbot Ethelwold, and nine ealdormen and king's thegns whose names are not given. There was at this time another Byrthelm who was bishop of Winchester from 960 to 963, but the bishop of Winchester usually signs above

the other bishops. Ethelwold abbot would be the abbot of Abingdon, who that same year (963) was appointed bishop of Winchester, and died in 984.

No. XIX.

[Kemble's *Cod. Dip.*, iii. 213, No. 650. From *Cod. Winton.*, fol. 78.]

Grant by king Æthelred to the lady Wulfrun of lands at Heantune (Wolverhampton) and Treselcotum (Trescott). A.D. 985.

✠ In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost. When the Latin. gracious Creator of the world, after driving out the ancient inhabitants of Paradise, had delivered up the ambit of the scattered land for our forefather to exercise with his labours, to the intent that the land far and wide might flourish green for the companies of the offspring of our fathers as they should be born, lest fierce hunger should strike mortals, whom the false horned serpent had driven in miserable plight from the immortal rest of Paradise, he granted separate monarchies of nations to be governed by various rulers; he foreordained also by his omnipotent will that the sceptres of the vast world should be ruled over by famous kings, in order that they may freely grant to those who are sober and devotedly obedient to them to enjoy the insignia of chief men and satraps, but may punish according to their deserts with the troubles of this passing life those who are disaffected and perniciously mock at them with the avaricious cunning of this age, and may gain for themselves also the tireless and sweetest joys of the contemplative life, where they may feast themselves upon honeyed sweetness, and instead of the very small things of this temporal life may by the grace of justice and the offering of gifts to Christ and his servants ascend to the summits of the kingdom of the skies, and may together with the inhabitants of heaven be enriched with the imperishable and golden crown of an eternal home (*eternitatis indigenæ*). Wherefore casting off the lowest things as though the filth of offscourings, and choosing the highest things after the fashion of most precious necklaces, and fixing the mind on everlasting joys, in order to obtain the compassion of honeyed sweetness and to enjoy the felicity of infinite happiness, I ÆTHELRED king of the Angles, by the right hand of the Accomplisher of all things raised to the seat of the kingdom of the whole of Britain, grant to a certain lady of the name of WULFRUN certain portions of lands, that is to say ten householders separated in two places, *viz.*: nine in the place which is called *æt Heantune* and in like manner one dwelling in that place which in English is called *æt Treselcotum* for an eternal inheritance; to the intent that she may well enjoy and possess them for ever, as long as she passes unharmed through the course of this passing life and

the spirit of life dwells in her corruptible flesh, and that after her departure from this life she may have free power of granting them to whatsoever heir it may please her. Now if it shall have happened at any time that any man openly produce any book to the annihilation of these letters, let him be altogether condemned by all sorts of men and destroyed by every diligence of truth, in whichever of the kings' my predecessors' time it shall have been prescribed. Let then the aforesaid lands be free from every worldly hindrance together with all things which are discerned to belong to these places, as well in great as in small things, fields, pastures, meadows, woods and watercourses, three things excepted, military service, construction of bridges, and fortification of castles. Finally, if, against my wishes, any persons weighed down by the envy of avarice shall have busied themselves in violating this charter of freedom, let them together with the bands of black darkness fall down and hear the voice of the judge (*examinationis*) at the great day of Judgment saying to them "Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire," where together with devils they may be tortured with iron frying-pans (*ferrets sartaginibus*) in cruel punishment, unless before death they shall have made amends for this with worthy penitence. The aforesaid land is seen to be surrounded by these boundaries.|| First from the goosebrook shot on to Sæffan moor (*seyt on sæffan mor*), thence against the stream from seven springs brook, from the brook to one spring, from the spring to the other spring, from the spring into the dike, along the dike to one boundary-mark (*ane mærc*), from the boundary-mark to the boundaries of Bilston (*Bilsatena gamæro*), thence to the boundary of Sedgley so to Scurf's moor (*that on sceorfas mor*), from the moor to the hill brook (*hlythe broc*), along the brook so to wet lea (*wæte leahe*), from wet lea up to the snows (*snawan*), from the snows straight over the plain till it comes to where the path shoots on to the street that lies from Byrnyth's stone, along the path so to the gallows tree (*geaggan treow*), from the tree to the broad street till it comes to the meadow, thence along the meadow sitch (*medwe sice*) till it comes to Tresel, up along Tresel so again to the goose-brook shot on to Sæffan moor.|| In the year of our Lord's Incarnation DCCCC.LXXXV. this charter was passed, the thirteenth indiction, these witnesses consenting whose names are inscribed below.

- + I Æthelred, king of the Angles, holding the summit of the whole kingdom have willingly granted the freedom of this gift.
- + I Dunstan, archbishop of the church of Canterbury, have confirmed the freedom of the same with the sign of the holy cross.
- + I Oswald, archbishop of the church of York, have noted the donation of the same with the symbol of the cross.
- + I Ælfstan, bishop, have confirmed.
- + I Æthelgar, bishop, have countersigned.
- + I Ælfheah, bishop, have consolidated.
- + I Æscwig, bishop, have agreed.
- + I Sigar, bishop, have concluded.

Matt. xxv.
41.

Anglo-
Saxon.

Latin.

- | | |
|---|------------------------------|
| + I Athulf, bishop, have subscribed. | |
| + I Ælfric, bishop, have not refused. | |
| + I Æthelsige, bishop, have acquiesced. | |
| + I Æthelwine, ealdorman. | + I Ælfsige, king's thegn. |
| + I Byrhtnoth, ealdorman. | + I Wulfsige, king's thegn. |
| + I Æthelweard, ealdorman. | + I Ælfgar, king's thegn. |
| + I Ælfric, ealdorman. | + I Æthelsige, king's thegn. |
| + I Thureth, ealdorman. | + I Ælfric, king's thegn. |
| + I Ordbriht, ealdorman [<i>sic</i>]. | + I Leofric, king's thegn. |
| + I Siric, ealdorman [<i>sic</i>]. | + I Ælfhelm, king's thegn. |
| + I Leofric, ealdorman [<i>sic</i>]. | + I Leofstan, king's thegn. |
| + I Ælfhere, abbot. | + I Wulfric, king's thegn. |
| + I Ælfweard, abbot. | + I Æthelmer. |

Rubric.—This is the ten hide book at Heantune that king Æthelred Anglo-Saxon booked to Wulfrun in everlasting inheritance.

NOTES.

This is one of the charters which Kemble marks with an asterisk as being of doubtful authenticity, but I can find no sufficient reason for any doubt. The style certainly is inflated, but that is rather a characteristic feature of most of king Æthelred's charters: and the witnesses all belong to the date assigned. Dunstan was archbishop of Canterbury 960 to 988, Oswald archbishop of York *c.* 972 to 992, one Ælfstan was bishop of London 961 to *c.* 996, and another of Rochester *c.* 935 to 995; Æthelgar was bishop of Selsey 980 to 988, when he was made archbishop of Canterbury, but died soon afterwards; Ælfheah was bishop of Lichfield *c.* 973 to *c.* 1004, Æscwig of Dorchester *c.* 977 to 1002, Sigar of Wells 975 to *c.* 997, Athulf of Hereford *c.* 954 to 1012, Ælfric of Crediton 977 to *c.* 986, and Æthelsige of Sherborne 978 to *c.* 991. Then of the ealdormen Æthelwine was ealdorman of East Anglia 967 to 992, Beorhtnoth of Essex 956 to 991, when he fell at the battle of Maldon, Æthelweard (the Chronicler) of the Western provinces 977 to *c.* 998, Ælfric of Hampshire 983 to 1016 (?), and Thureth of Deira 979 to 993. The next three witnesses, Ordbriht, Siric and Leofric, were really abbots, not ealdormen, as is shewn by a large number of contemporaneous charters. Ordbriht or Ordbeorht was abbot of Chertsey from 964 to 989, when he was made bishop of Selsey: Siric or Sigeric was abbot of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, 980 to 986, he was afterwards bishop of Corfe (Ramsbury) 986 to 990

and archbishop of Canterbury 990 to 995: there was a Leofric abbot of Michelney and a Leofric abbot of St. Albans in 993 and 997, and an abbot Leofric signs charters from 980. There was an Ælfhere abbot of Bath in 993 and 997, and an Ælfweard abbot of Glastonbury the same years.

Kemble in the index to his *Codex Diplomaticus* identifies this Heantune as Southampton and marks Treselcotum also as in Hampshire. But the references in the boundary description to Bilsatena (Bilston), Seeges leage (Sedgley) and Tresel (Trysull) leave no room for doubt that the estates granted by this charter to Wulfrun are Wolverhampton and Trescott in Staffordshire; and they or part of them must have been made over by her shortly afterwards to the monastery at Wolverhampton, which derived the first part of its name from her. In the rubric or title of this charter it is called a "ten hide book," so it seems a fair inference that these lands formed one of the three "x jugera terræ" referred to in the later grant by her to the monastery, which was confirmed by archbishop Sigeric in 994 (see the next charter, No. XX *inf.*). In Domesday under the lands of the Clerks of Handone (Wolverhampton) we find, in addition to those included in the later grant, one hide in Hantone itself and one virgate in Cote; and I suggest that these places are almost certainly identical with the Heantune and Treselcotum of the present charter, where the terminations of the names are the usual inflexions of the dative case (singular or plural) which follow the preposition "æt." Eyton (*Staffordshire Domesday Studies*, pp. 35, 67) was unable to identify exactly the Domesday Cote, but on the authority of the description in a fine of king John's time found by the late General Wrottesley he placed it somewhere in the neighbourhood of Penn: Trescott, which lies on the north-west side of Lower Penn and adjoins it, answers this description exactly.

There are of course several other charters besides this one which mention places called Heantun or Heamtun, but I do not think that any of them, except those which I have numbered XX and XXVI *inf.*, relates to Wolverhampton.

NO. XX.

[*Mon. Ang.*, ed. 1655, i. 988; ed. 1830, vi. 1443. From "autographum" in the possession of the Dean and Chapter of Windsor (1640). Cf. Duignan's *Charter of Wulfrun to the Monastery at "Hamton"* (1888).]

Confirmation by Sigeric archbishop of Canterbury, of grant by the lady Wulfrun to Hamton (Wolverhampton) monastery of lands at Earnleie (Arley) and other places, co. Stafford. A.D. 994.

Our Lord Jesus Christ reigning, in the year from the passion of the same Latin. Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour DCCCCxvi [should be DCCCCxciv], the seventh indiction, SIGERICH, archbishop of the metropolitan city, with all the Lord's flock of men serving God incessantly, satraps, ealdormen, princes, judges, and the whole council of Christians, has weighed out a privilege for ever to the noble matron and religious lady, WULFRUN, that she may attain a heavenly seat and may build a temple in honour of the Lord and Saviour of the World, [who] holding the heavens in his fist encircles the depths, and of the holy mother of God the ever Virgin Mary, who is called the Star of the Sea or the Lady of the Nations, and of all Saints, that by her means (*per eum*, qu. *eam*) incessantly in the same venerable monastery of Hamtune, which has now in modern time been built, mass may be chanted there for evermore with common endurance firmly, [as] is commanded in the canon by Saint Gregory together with thy servant our pope and our archbishop, so that our Christianity by day and night may grow to better things : so as in the Gospel our Saviour says, "Where two or three are gathered together Matt. xviii. in my name, there am I in the midst of them, saith the Lord." And "If he 20. shall say to this sycamine [mulberry] tree, 'Be thou plucked up by the root Luke xvii. and be thou planted in the sea,' and shall not hesitate in his heart but 6. believe, it shall be done unto him." And elsewhere "Ask, and ye shall John xvi. receive, that your joy may be full." With longing I have longed that the 24. religious purpose, shown to belong continually to the holy place, should with God's help be fulfilled without any delay, and so often as in certain of its uses and advantages it requires our assent and the protection of the usual apostolic authority, it is suitable that with God's help we should come to its assistance with kindly intent, and from reason fixed (*rati*, qu. *rata*) in proportion to complete security consolidate it, that out of this with His permission (*ipsius veniam*, qu. *venia*) safety and indemnity may be secured to the places, and that for us also may be provided by God the founder of all things the chiefest reward in the starry citadels. It is therefore befitting to your religious devotion to have implored us that we should fortify with the chain of apostolic authority the aforesaid Hamton monastery of [*i.e.* dedicated to] Mary the holy mother of God, our Lady, and confirm all things belonging to it to remain there in everlasting right inviolably.

Therefore, moved (*flexis*, qu. *flexi*) by your prayers, we by the written letter of this our order and in the present seventh indiction, if you have besought us justly and reasonably and they are not kept back by other men, ordain and decree that as regards all the urban places, towns and rural fields, just as your aforesaid monastery of Hampton has kept them from ancient times, so you ought now also the more peaceably to possess them in great security, and that by your means they may now also possess and keep them for your monastery or your successors, abbots or clerks, and enjoying them may defend them in perpetual jurisdiction, and may profit for ever in the uses of the same pious place; in consideration of which and under the sanction of the divine judgment we make a proclamation and decree, that it shall by no means be lawful for anyone holding any public office (*cuiquam publicæ actionis virorum*) or any other person of whatsoever rank, great or small, to exercise authority over the things or farms, cultivated or uncultivated, of the said monastery, wheresoever you are seen to keep them; nor let him presume to take away or snatch anything from the same pious place, but rather let them remain by perpetual right in the venerable monastery itself, as prescribed above, and under the power and authority of your conscientious feelings, or at the disposal and call of all your successors, abbots or female nuns.

Now if anyone (which we hope will not be the case) shall strive to come or act against the chain of this our apostolic authority solemnly promulgated by us, let him know that he must stand at the bar at the terrible Judgment and have his portion with the wicked and obtain a mansion with Pluto and the three-headed Cerberus, unless he first makes satisfaction to God. But whosoever shall be a keeper and observer of the written letter of this our apostolic decree, may he deserve to obtain the grace of blessing from the abundant kindness of our Lord Jesus Christ. Written by pen and ink and the hand of the notary and secretary of Æthelred, king of the Angles, in the month of October, on Sunday, xvij Kal., the twenty-second moon, and the seventh indiction. I Wulfrun grant to my special patron and the high-throned King of kings, and [in honour] of Mary the ever Virgin Mother of God, and of all saints, for the microcosm [*qu. i.e.* the body] of my husband and my own soul (*pro microcosmo conjugis mea* [*qu. mei*] *et anima mea*) ten estates of householders (*decem jugera cassatarum*) serving God there at the aforesaid monastery, and in another convenient place another ten estates of householders for the offences of my kinsman Wulfgeat, lest at the dread Judgment he should hear from the stern Judge, "Depart from me, I was an hungered, I was thirsty," and so on. For blessed is he who shall eat bread in the kingdom of God. In fine now my only daughter, Elfthrith, has departed from the world to the life-giving airs (*ad vitales auras*). For the third time ten estates of householders have I granted to the omnipotent God, with ineffable love more abundantly above the others, surrounded on all sides by these territorial boundaries.

This is the land boundary that Wulfrun hath given to the monastery at Hamtun, and the vill names that this privilege speaketh about. First of

Earnleie, and Eswich, and Bilsetnatun, and Willenhale, and Wodnesfeld, and Peoleshale, and Oogintun, and Hiltun, and Hagenthorndun, and Kinwaldestun, and the other Hyltun, and Featherstan.

This is the boundary at Earnleie : First from Earesbrook and [*qu. to*] the short thorns, and from the short thorns to Wlsie's horse croft, and then to the alder copses (*alrescagen*), and from the copses to Eadulf's croft to the ridge-way (*ricwei*), along the ridge-way to the earth-break, and thence downward to the flax-lea (*lynleie*), and from the lea to the swine-pit (*swinseath*), from the pit to Heortseges brook, along the brook to the mouth, and from the mouth to Byinnig-brook, and thence up along the brook to the sitch (*i.e.* runnel), and from the sitch to Sciteresford, and from the ford to Bromes Combe, and from the Combe to Ethelsie's boundary, along Ethelsie's boundary to the Severn, down along the Severn to the five oaks, from the five oaks to the stub, and from the stub to the street, along the street to Winna's tree (*winnan trou*), and from the tree to Tudelesbeck, along the beck to the Severn, up along the Severn to Leofric's boundary, along the boundary to Thurulf's way, from the way to the field yard, along the yard to Lamberde lea, and from the lea to Earesbrook where it began (*er on feng*), and over Fatestal to Earnleie at the vill (*et there wick*). And mast for thirty swine on Sheep-ridge (*Scipricg*) also belongs to Earnleie.

This is the land boundary at Eiswich : First from ebles back to the dike, and from the dike to the Stour, down along it to Tresel, up along Tresel to Scakeresford, and from the ford to the sitch, along the sitch upward to Belstow, and from Belstow to Tresel.

This is the boundary at Bilsetnetun and at Wodnesfeld. And first from Hinde brook to the dike between Ettingeshale and Bilsetnetun, along the dike on until it comes to where the dike goes eastward, and from the dike on to the thorn where the three boundaries meet, the boundaries of Hamtun and Ettingeshale and Bilsetnetun, and from the thorn to the wet mere (*lece mere*), and from the mere to the ford where Beorgith's stone street (*sanes qu. stanes strete*) lies over, and from the ford to the dike that lies between the boundaries of Wodnesfeld and Hamtun, and northward on along the dike to Piate's thorn, and from the thorn along the dike to Penwie, where the boundaries of Wodnesfeld and of Hamtun and of Byscopesbyrig meet, and on along Penwies to Byri-brook, and from the brook thence to the alder copses, and along the alder copses to the sitch, and along the sitch to the street, and on along the old street to the hoar-stone, and from the stone to the swine-pit (*swinsete*), and from the swine-pit along the street, thence to the dike, along the dike thence to Kirnesford, and from the ford along the portstreet to the white sitch, and along the sitch to the brook in Beadgithe's-burn, and from the burn to Lande-brook, along the brook to Maiden's ford (*Meidenesford*), along the brook then into the dike, where it before began from the brook.

This is the land boundary between Kinwaldestun and Eatun. First from the brook to the head at the dike, along the dike to the other brook, along the brook to Pencrich, along Pencrich till it comes to the dike, along

the dike to the salt mere, there over the mere to the dike, along the dike beside the eastern rye-croft to the foul brook, along the brook where it was first begun. And thereto belong (*eaken*) the five acres at Twiefyrd as far as Kinwoldestun at Calves Hedge [Calf Heath].

This is the boundary at Hagethorndun: First from Searesbrocesford (Sharesbrook ford) to the hollow way, and from the way to the long street, and from the street to the boundary hedge (*mer heige*), on along the hedge to the three boundaries, and from the three boundaries to Ethelwie's hedge to the plain at the mound and thence to the dike at the copses, along the dike by the valley (*sled*) by the mast oak, along the valley up to the water and thence eastward to the other valley, along the valley to the white stones, and thence to the street that shoots from the miry place, along the street by the enclosure-hedge, along the street to the white sitch, along the sitch to the white hall, and thence to the brook, along the brook again to the ford that it started from.

This is the land boundary at Hiltun and at Featherestan: First from Brenesford along the street to Lece brook, upwards along the brook to the stony ford, along the street till it comes to the dike, along the dike to the head, along the head to the stony way, and thence to Ethelwie's hedge, on along the enclosure hedge (*his hagan heies*) till it comes to the great moor, and thence to the old barrow (*byri*), and from thence to the east lea, and so on to Leofwine's hedge, along the hedge to Kerseville, and thence to the hill, and from the hill to the head, on along the head to the other hill, along the hill to the . . . spring by Esingaton, and from the hill on Swine down (*Suiendun*), and thence to the hoar-stone, and from the stone across over the moor to the brook (*ebroc*), along the brook to Bruneford where it started from before.

This is the land boundary at Ogintune: First at the great alders, along the moor to Wassa well, from the [*qu. well*] to the dike, along the dike to the fen at the swine-pit, thence to the hedge, along the hedge there straight on to black lea, at the lea southwards on again to the . . . , along the street to the ford, along the brook against the stream to the dike, along the dike thence to the ford at the brook, along the brook against the stream to . . . ge [*qu. Watling*] street, along the street thence to the dike, along the dike thence again to the great alders.

This is the land boundary at Peoleshale [*for Weoleshale read Peoleshale*]: First at Peolesford, from Peolesford along the brook against the stream thence to the great moor, and from the moor to Rye-hall, and from Rye-hall to the brook, along the brook against the stream thence to . . . , along the dike to the grey willow, from the willow thence to the harts' wallowing place (*Heortsole*), from the harts' wallowing place to the hunter's path (*Huntenslye*), from the hunter's path to Thelford, from Thelford along . . . midstream to Ordeiseye at the brook, along the brook against the stream back again to Peolesford.

We have written [in the name of] the threefold Lord of lords to thy earthly lord Æthelred, obeying him faithfully (*scripsi . . . obedientes ei*

fideliter, sed qu. should be *scripsimus . . . obedientes ei fideliter*, or *scripsi . . . obedienter et fideliter*), because in no wise canst thou obtain the peace of the Lord of lords without remaining to the end faithful to thy earthly lord. These decrees then we, Sigerich archbishop, have put forward in plea (*in placato*) before king Æthelred and the archbishop of York and all the bishops, abbots of the region of Britain, or senators, ealdormen, and people of the land, and they (as we have said above) have sworn with all devotion of mind and a joyful countenance according to the measure of their strength, by the help of heavenly mercy, that they will keep them in all things, and in your place in our hand have confirmed [their oath] with the sign of the holy cross, and afterwards with diligent pen have written on the charter of this writing, impressing the sign of the holy cross.

- I Ethelred, by the grace of God king of the Angles and ruler (*patricius*) of the Northumbrians, consenting have subscribed with the sign of the holy cross in the third Olympiad of my reign.
- I Sigerich, by the will of God archbishop of the metropolitan city and of the church of Canterbury, have subscribed the assignment of this pious and catholic charter with the sign of the holy cross.
- I Ealdulf, archbishop of the church of York, have consented and subscribed.
- I Ealfstan, bishop of the church of London, have consented and subscribed.
- I Ealfage, bishop of the church of Winchester, have consented and subscribed.
- I Wlfsie, bishop of the church of Sherborne, have consented and subscribed.
- I Ordbeorht, bishop of the church of Selsey, obediently have subscribed.
- I Ealfwold, bishop of the church of Crediton, have consented and subscribed.
- I Sigegar, bishop of the church of Wells, obediently have subscribed.
- I Elfrich, bishop of the church of Corfe [*i.e.* Ramsbury] have consented and subscribed.
- I Ealdred, bishop of the church of Cornwall, obediently have subscribed.
- I Eswi, bishop of the church of Dorchester, have consented and subscribed.
- I Ealfeah, bishop of the church of Lichfield, obediently have subscribed.
- I Hathulf, bishop of the church of Hereford, have consented and subscribed.
- I Godvine, bishop of the church of Rochester, with golden mouthed speech (*crisostomo ore*) and the sign of the holy cross, with placid mind have consented and subscribed.

- I, the suppliant servant of Christ, Beorhtnoth abbot, obediently have subscribed.
- I German, of Fleury monk and abbot, have subscribed.
- I Cenulf, abbot, have subscribed.
- I Elfwi, abbot, have subscribed.
- I Elfward, abbot, have subscribed.
- I Leofric, abbot, who am called by another name Ethelnoth, have subscribed.
- I Ælfwine, abbot, have subscribed.
- I Ethelric, abbot, have subscribed.
- I Briththelm, abbot, have subscribed.
- I Wlfric, abbot, have subscribed.
- I Leofwine, ealdorman.
- I Ethelueard, ealdorman, consenting so affixing.
- I Wlfsie, deacon, have subscribed with the sign of the holy cross.
- I Elfvard, deacon.
- I Elfric, ealdorman, have consented and subscribed.
- I Lofsie, ealdorman, have consented and subscribed.
- I Elfhelm, ealdorman of the Transhumbrian race.
- I Ethelmer, count, have subscribed with the sign of the holy cross.
- I Wlfgiat, king's thegn.
- I Wlfheah, king's thegn.
- I Ethelric, king's thegn.
- I Ethelnoth, king's thegn.
- I Ethelweard, king's thegn.

To these most salutary admonitions [with] the priests deacons and abbots of monasteries, we the judges, chief men and nobles with one voice have consented and subscribed.

NOTES.

For the above translation I am responsible, but I have had the advantage of checking it with, and making a few corrections in it from, Mr. W. H. Stevenson's excellent translation, which will be found in the late Mr. Duignan's little book on *The Charter of Wulfrun to the Monastery at "Hamton."* I did not like to omit from the present series so important a document, even though it had already been adequately treated by a much more competent editor, as without it the series would be very incomplete. But anyone who wishes to study closely the boundaries of the different vills included in the grant should consult Mr. Duignan's valuable notes. He says that the descriptions are so clear and accurate that anyone acquainted with the neighbourhood would, but for the altered state of the

country, find little difficulty in walking the boundaries, and he proceeds to trace them carefully and in detail. But I ought to say something about the places comprised in the deed. They were all, except Bilsetnatun, in the possession of the Canons of Handone (Wolverhampton) at the time of the Domesday Survey: Bilsetnatun or Billestune (Bilston) was then in the hands of the king. They are as follows:—

<i>Wulfrun's grant.</i>	<i>Domesday.</i>	<i>Assessments.</i>	<i>Modern name.</i>
		<i>hid. virg.</i>	
Earnleie	Earnlege	2 2	(Upper) Arley.
Eswich	Haswic (waste) ...	5 0	[obsolete, <i>qu.</i> Ash-wood]
Bilsetnatun ...	Billestune	2 0	Bilston
Willenhale ...	Winenhale	2 0	Willenhall
Wodnesfeld ...	Wodnesfeld	5 0	Wednesfield
Peoeshale	Peeshale	2	Pelsall
Ocgintun	Hocintune (waste)	1 0	Hogley or Ogley
Hiltun	Iltone	3	Hilton
Hagenthorndun ...	Hargedone	3 0	Hatherton
Kinwaldestun ...	Chenwardestone ...	1 0	Kinvaston
other Hyltun ...	Haltone	2 0	Hilton
Feotherstan ...	Ferdestan (waste)	1 0	Featherstone
		25 3	

These places are all identified by Eyton (*Staffordshire Domesday Studies*) with the exception of Haswic, Hocintune, and one of the two Hiltons (Iltone and Haltone). Haswic was then waste "propter forestam regis," and it would therefore be no wonder if the name were now obsolete. The description in Wulfrun's grant shows that it was bounded by Trysull and the river Stour, by which may possibly be meant what is now known as Smestow, a tributary of the Stour: it was a large manor assessed at five hides, and at the time of the Conquest before the afforestation half of the wood there belonged to it. Commander Wedgwood suggests that the name is not quite obsolete, but can still be traced in Ashwood, and it seems to me that he is undoubtedly

right. From the Forest Pleas of 14 Ed. I. (1286), exactly two centuries after Domesday, we learn that within the forest of Kinver there was a bailiwick as well as a haye which bore the name of Aswode or Assewode (*Staff. Coll.*, vol. v, pt. 1, pp. 158-160). What could be more in accordance with what might be expected than that the name of the *wick* or village which had become waste should drop out of use, while the wood belonging to it survived and gave its name to the bailiwick and the haye within the forest bounds? So Haswic or Eswich naturally becomes Ashwood. Eyton thought that Hocintune was also now obsolete, but Mr. Duignan has shewn, by evidence which to me seems convincing, that the name still survives in Ogley Hay, near Pelsall, (*i.e.* Hogley by Brownhills,) which is known to have belonged in the 13th century to the Dean and Chapter of Wolverhampton and to have then included a wood bounded on one side by the Watling Street. With regard to the mention of two Hiltons (the Iltone and Haltone of Domesday) Eyton explains this as referring to two estates, then separate but since united and now indistinguishable. Mr. Duignan even goes so far as to say that the mention in Wulfrun's grant of two places of the name of Hilton is a mistake, there being only one such place, and only one place of that name being mentioned in the boundary descriptions. With all the respect due to such great authorities and to Mr. Duignan's accurate local knowledge I am convinced that they were both mistaken. It will be noticed that in Wulfrun's grant, as well as in Domesday, the first Hilton (Iltone) is mentioned next to Ocgintun (Hocintune), while the second (Haltone) comes next to Featherestan (Ferdestan). In any case I should have found it difficult to believe that there was only one place of the name, when we find in Domesday two places described separately, though in close juxtaposition with one another and in the possession of the same holders, and spelt in different ways. But in point of fact there was, and is still, another Hilton, besides the Mr. Leveson Vernon's Hilton near Featherstone and Wolverhampton, and what is more this other Hilton lies just to the east of and adjoins Ogley (between that place and Wall), so that the identification of the one leads directly to the identification of the other. It is true that there is no express description of the boundaries of this Hiltun in Wulfrun's

grant; but the same might be said of Willenhale, and I think the explanation probably is, that this Hiltun is included within the boundary description of Ocgintune, just as Willenhale must be included within that of Bilsetnatun and Wodnesfeld, between which two places it lies. In the Perambulation of the Forest of Cannock made in 1300 (*Staff. Coll.*, vol. v, pt. 1, pp. 177, 178) the bounds of Oggeleye (Ogley Hay) and Prestwode are described as "descending by the high road in the valley between Aylondes and Whitacres and descending as far as Cronebrook below *Hulton*, and so by Lichesfeldeswey as far as Watling strete"; Whitacres Farm, Crane Brook and Hilton are all marked in the Ordnance map, and this enables us to trace roughly the general course of the boundary to the Watling Street. Lastly, the suggestion which I have ventured to make is confirmed by the order in which the places are named in Wulfrun's grant. Beginning with Arley on the extreme s.w. corner, the enumeration proceeds in a general north-easterly direction through Eswich (Ashwood?), Bilston, Willenhall, Wednesfeld, Pelsall and Ocgintun (Ogley) to Hilton: it then turns back westwards through Hatherton to Kinvaston, and thence proceeds southwards to the other Hilton and Featherstone. In the Domesday Survey the order is substantially, though not precisely, the same. As to Peoleshale (Pelsall), in the *Monasticon* the word is written "Weoleshale," which Shaw and Oliver identified as Walsall, but this is clearly a mistake, the origin of which is pointed out by Mr. Duignan (as well as by S. P. Wolferstan nearly a century ago in a letter to the *Gentleman's Magazine*), namely the resemblance of the letters "p" and "w" (the Anglo-Saxon form of "w"), which has caused similar mistakes in other cases.

As regards the witnesses to Wulfrun's charter I do not feel quite satisfied with Mr. Duignan's notes. The sees of the various episcopal witnesses are expressly stated in the deed itself and require no further elucidation, and I will only add that besides archbishop Sigeric two of the bishops, Ælfric and Ælfheah, subsequently became archbishops of Canterbury. But much light is thrown upon the identity of the abbots by two nearly contemporaneous charters, given in the *Codex Diplomaticus* (Nos. 684 and 698), and dated respectively in the years 993 and

997. In the earlier of these two charters (No. 684) German is called abbot of "Raſn" (Ramsey?), in the later one (No. 698) he is called abbot of "Ceolesig" (Cholsey), while in the *Monasticon* (ed. 1817-1830, ii. 297) it is stated that German, *prior* of Ramsey, was appointed to be abbot of Winchcombe by bishop Oswald of Worcester (who died in 992). Kenwulf was abbot of Burg (Peterborough) 990 to 1006, Ælfwig abbot of Westminster, Ælfweard of Glastonbury (not, I think, Evesham, as Mr. Duignan suggests: Ælfweard, the abbot of Evesham, was of a rather later date). There was at this time a Leofric abbot of Michelney in Somersetshire, and another of St. Albans, and there was an Ælfhun (Ælfwine?) abbot of Middleton. Æthelric was abbot of Athelney, Beorhthelm of Exeter, and Wulfric of St. Augustine's, Canterbury. As regards the *duces* or ealdormen, Leofwine was ealdorman of the Hwiccas provinces, *i.e.* Worcestershire, etc., Æthelweard of the Western provinces, *i.e.* Devonshire, etc., Ælfric of the Central provinces, *i.e.* Hampshire, etc., and Ælfhelm of the Northumbrian provinces, *i.e.* Deira or Yorkshire.

As to the date of this charter, in the first edition of the *Monasticon* (i. 988) it is stated that the original document gives the date DCCCCxvi, which the author corrects by reversing the cx and making the date DCCCxcvi, but it is clear from the indiction, which is mentioned more than once in the charter, that the vi should also have been reversed, and that the true date should be DCCCxciv (994). This would correspond with the seventh indiction, and it is also consistent with the names of all the witnesses, including archbishop Sigeric whose successor was appointed in 995. I ought perhaps to mention that the last of the episcopal witnesses is Godwine, bishop of Rochester, who is generally supposed to have succeeded bishop Ælfstan there in the year 995: but, if I am right in supposing that the only authority for the belief that Ælfstan was still alive in that year is the mention of his name as a witness to three charters purporting to be of that date in the *Codex Diplomaticus* (Nos. 689, 690, and 691), I would point out that in the first two of these charters the reference to the seventh indiction shews that the year should really be not 995 but 994, while in the last one the year 995 is given as the date not of the

charter itself but of the schedule to it, which describes the land granted and may well have been added later, as was often done.

No. XXI.

Will of Wulfric Spot. A.D. c. 1004.

For this will, by far the most important of the whole series of pre-Conquest documents, I must refer to my separate paper in the present volume of these collections. I have numbered it here merely for the sake of making the series complete so far as is known at present.

No. XXII.

[*Mon. Ang.*, ed. 1655, i. 269; ed. 1817-1830, iii. 39. (From Burton Abbey Register, f. 1); *Cod. Dip.*, iii. 330, No. 710 (from *Mon. Ang.*): *Facsimiles of Anglo-Saxon MSS.* (Ordnance Survey), pt. III, near end, (from original charter or very early copy in the possession of the Marquess of Anglesey), with translation by W. Basevi Sanders.]

Charter of freedom by king Æthelred to Burton Abbey, confirming the gifts made in favour of the Abbey by Wulfric Spot.
A.D. 1004.

✠ After the evil persuading suggestion of the poisonous serpent with Latin. envious deceit seduced the first parent of the human race by the eating of the forbidden apple (*invida fraude vetiti seduxit edulio pomi*), sentence of death for ever and a toilsome wandering of this life is set before the first man himself. Whence also for his descendants a weight of deadly damnation on account of manifold practices of iniquities so grew, that from the root of the very same cause which we have afore mentioned the inventor of all malice, the devil, by divine sufferance and in consequence of their fault associated with himself almost the whole descent of man in the punishments of hell prepared beforehand from the beginning for the swollen pride of himself and his conspiring satellites, until the only Word-begotten Son of the eternal Father, grieving that the substance which was imagined in his own likeness should have perished, by a more secret mystery in the last age of the world veiled himself in a maiden's flesh and walked amongst men as very God and very man in unity of person without stain of sin. And that heavenly counsel

was so concealed from the enemy, that even gluttony, vain glory and avarice, with which weapons he had at first laid low mankind, was not afraid to approach him, thinking that he who is the fount and head of all goodness could be caught in the snare of unjust transgression ; but, beaten through with a threefold testimony of holy Writ by the Truth itself, once more he retreats conquered to the infernal shades. Here to the author of our salvation soon came in attendance an angel ; and all these things of humanity being accomplished so as we have said, Jesus refreshed by the holy Spirit, advancing in wisdom, age and grace, set forth immediately healings for the recovery of mankind by such instruction as this (saying) "Repent ye, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand."

Matt. iii.
2 ; iv. 17.

And these and other proofs of his good will he deigned to confirm with signs of manifold miracles, by giving light to the blind, by restoring hearing to the deaf, power of speech to the dumb, the use of their hands to the maimed, power of walking to the lame, soundness of limbs to the paralysed, cleansing of body to the lepers, sense of mind to the lunatics and demoniacs, life to the dead, and by revealing (*reserando* not *celerando*) the way of life to the living with sentences of this kind, "Run, while ye have the light, that darkness may not overtake you." Nevertheless by the wiles of the ancient enemy the hearts of the faithless Jews were hardened among all these things, so that they feared not with blinded mind to fasten to the cross the Mediator between God and man himself, after subjecting him to shame and scourging. Who however on the third day as a conqueror resumed his living body incorruptible and immortal and with closed doors showed it to his disciples to be handled, being with them forty days in frequent appearances to them, and on the fortieth day, as they stood by and beheld him, he sought the heavenly habitations, setting up with himself the substance of our flesh on the right hand of his Father's throne, while the angels pronounced to the apostles these words, "He shall so come in like manner as ye have seen him go into heaven." Of which day of his coming he thus says by the mouth of his prophet, "That day is a day of wrath, a day of trouble and distress, a day of wasteness and desolation, a day of darkness and gloominess, a day of cloud and thick darkness, a day of the trumpet and alarm."

John xii.
35.

Acts i. 11.
Zeph. i.
15.

Touched then by the dread of so great a day, and longing to please so stern a judge, I ÆTHELRED, king of the Angles, offer to our Lord Jesus Christ himself the freedom of a certain monastery which is called in the vulgar tongue *æt Byrtun*, that it together with all things which are subject to it, vills, farms, fields, woods, meadows, pastures, watercourses, victims of fisheries and all appliances of human necessity may be for ever in eternal security most free as the king's thegn of noble lineage, Wulfric, built it and endowed it with a college of monks, committing the lordship of the place and of those who dwell in it to my royal dominion. And let the abbot by name WLFGEAT, who has been appointed to it as its first abbot, have the free power of governing it within and without under my authority, the lordship of any other man being set aside.

Now this freedom is so confirmed by the putting into writing of this

privilege, to the intent that in the place itself a brotherhood of the same order which we have spoken of may be assembled together serving continually by regular use according to the rule of St. Benedict, and that the hope of the aforesaid king's thegn, who gave this monastery to Christ, may by the pure conversation of those dwelling in it and their holy intercession be lifted up to the reward of heavenly riches. But if anyone whether of higher or lower degree shall have attempted to lay waste this place, or to take anything away from it or to diminish it or to reduce it into servitude, the three things only excepted, *viz.* military service or the construction of bridge or fort, let him know that he is alienated from the heavenly glory and undergoes the torments of hell, where is the worm that dieth not, and fire unquenchable and gnashing of teeth intolerable, unless he speedily recover from his wickedness. On the other hand, if any one shall have been willing to augment this gift, which is offered to Christ, let him know that he receives heavenly rewards, where Christ is all in all, [and where is] day without night, light unailing, brightness everlasting, life perpetual, glory ineffable, rest eternal, and joy without end.

These then are the names of the vills which the aforesaid king's thegn has most devotedly put under the holy monastery itself :—

First **Byrtune** on which the monastery stands, and **Strætun**, and **Bromleage**, and **Bedintun**, and **Gageleage**, and **Witestun**, and **Langanforde**, and **Styrceleage**, and **Niwantun-at-the-Wic**, and **Hwædedun**, and the other **Niwantun**, and **Wineshyll**, and **Suthtun**, and **Ticenheale**, and that at **Scenctune**, and that at **Halen**, and **Remesleage**, and that at **Scipleia**, and that at **Suthtune**, and that at **Actune** for two men's lives just as the foreword says, and that at **Deorlafestune**, and **Lege** with all that thereto belongs, and **Hilum**, and **Acofre** with all that thereto belongs, and **Brægdeshæle**, and **Mortun** and all the soc that thereto belongs, and **Pillesleage**, and **Tathawillan**, and **Æppelby**, and that at **Burhtune**, and at **Westtune**, and that at **Witgestane**, and that at **Searnforda**, and that at **Ealdeswyrthe**, and that at **Ælfredingtune**, and that at **Waddune**, and that at **Snodeswic**, and that at **Wynnefeld**, and that at **Oggedestune** on to the middle of **Mortune**, and that at **Hereburgebyrig**, and that at **Ecclesheale**, and that at **Suthtune**, and that at **Morlege**.

Now the freedom of this privilege has been written in the year of the Latin. Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ M^oIII^o, the second indiction, by the testimony of these wise men, whose names are seen to be noted below :—

I Æthelred, king of the Angles, have enriched this gift with perpetual freedom.	I Æthelstan, the king's son.	I Ecgbyrht, the king's son.	I Eadmund, the king's son.	I Eadred, the king's son.	I Eadwig, the king's son.	I Eadgar, the king's son.
I Ælfric, archbishop, have composed.	I Ælfwardus, abbot.	I Wlfstan, archbishop, have concluded.	I Ælfsinus, abbot.	I Ælfneah, bishop, have countersigned.	I Wulfgarus, abbot.	
I Ælfhun, bishop, have consented.	I Keanulfus, abbot.	I Lyuuig, bishop, have consented.	I Ælfsinus, abbot.			

I Æthelric, bishop, have confirmed.	I Germanus, abbot.
I Ælfhelm, bishop, have corroborated.	I Godemanus, abbot.
I Ordbyrht, bishop, have consented.	I Wulfricus, abbot.
I Godwine, bishop, have acquiesced.	I Leofricus, abbot.
I Ælfgar, bishop, have joined in unison (<i>adunavi</i>).	I Byrhtwoldus, abbot.
I Godwine, bishop, have affirmed.	I Eadred, abbot.
I Sigeferth, bishop, have assisted.	I Ælmær, abbot.
I Ælfric, ealdorman.	I Ælfgar, king's thegn.
I Ælfhelm, ealdorman.	I Æthelwold, king's thegn.
I Leofwine, ealdorman.	I Ulfcytel, king's thegn.
I Æthelmer, king's thegn.	I Eadric, king's thegn.
I Ordulf, king's thegn.	I Godric, king's thegn.
I Wulfgeat, king's thegn.	I Godwine, king's thegn.
I Wulfheah, king's thegn.	I Æthelweard, king's thegn.
I Wulfstan, king's thegn.	I Ælfgar, king's thegn.
I Styre, king's thegn.	I Lefwine, king's thegn.
I Morkare, king's thegn.	I Byrhtare, king's thegn.
I Fræna, king's thegn.	I Lefwine, king's thegn.
I Ætheric, king's thegn.	I Ælfmær, king's thegn.
I Æthelmær, king's thegn.	

NOTES.

For notes on this important charter I must refer to my separate paper on Wulfric Spot's will, where I have set out in detail the discrepancies between the two ancient MS. copies of the charter (*viz.* those in the Burton Abbey Register and in the still earlier single skin of parchment) and the printed editions in the *Monasticon* and other later works. I will here merely supplement those notes with a few words as to the long list of witnesses, which include the king and his six sons, two archbishops, ten bishops, twelve abbots, three ealdormen and twenty-two king's thegns. Ælfric was archbishop of Canterbury 995 to 1005, Wulfstan archbishop of York 1003 to 1023; Ælfheah bishop of Winchester 984 to 1005 (in which year he was appointed to succeed Ælfric as archbishop of Canterbury), Ælfhun bishop of London *c.* 1002 to *c.* 1014, Lyfing of Wells 999 to 1013 (when he became archbishop of Canterbury), Æthelric of Sherborne *c.* 1001 to *c.* 1011, Ælfhelm of Dorchester 1002 to *c.* 1006, Ordbearht of Selsey 989 to 1009, Godwine of Rochester 995 to 1046 (two persons of the same name probably succeeding one another there), Ælfgar of Elmham 1001 to 1016, Godwine

of Lichfield *c.* 1002 to 1020 and Sigeferth of Lindsey 997 to 1004. Then of the abbots there was an Ælfweard abbot of Glastonbury in 993 and 997, an Ælsine abbot of Ely 981 to 1016, Wulfgar was abbot of Abingdon 990 to 1016, Kenulf abbot of Peterborough 992 to 1005, when he was made bishop of Winchester but died in the following year. There was an Ælfsige (which I believe is the same name as Ælfsine) who was abbot of Newminster in Winchester about this time, a German is mentioned as abbot of "Rañ" (Ramsey) in 993 and of "Ceolesig" (Cholsey) in 997, and a Godeman as abbot of "Iorñ" (*qu.* should be "Torñ," *i.e.* Thorney) in 993. Wulfric was abbot of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, 989 to 1006; Leofric (the brother of archbishop Ælfric) was abbot of St. Albans in 997 and died in 1006; and there was a Byrhtwold abbot of Malmesbury about this time, who may perhaps be the same person as the Byrhtwold who was made bishop of Ramsbury in 1005 or 1006. Of Eadred and Ælmær I know nothing. The three ealdormen presided respectively over Central Wessex (Hampshire, etc.), Northumbria (Deira) and the Hwiccas (Worcestershire, etc.).

No. XXIII.

[*Cart. Sax.*, iii. 652, No. 1317. From Brit. Mus. Harley Charter, 83, A. 2 (xith century); *Facsimiles of Ancient Charters at the Brit. Mus.*, pt. iv, pl. 42. See also *Shropshire Arch. Soc. Trans.*, 2nd ser., iii. 36; 4th ser., i. 10.]

The Will of Wulfgeat of Dunnintune (Donington). A.D. c. 1006.

CYROGRAFUM.

✠ This is WULFGAT'S will at **Dunnintune** that is then that he gives first to God his soul's shot [*i.e.* tribute], that is one hide at **Tærdebicgan** and one pound of pennies and six and twenty freed men for his soul; and to **WIGERACÆSTRE** one brewing of malt, half from **Dunnintune**, half from **Cylleshale**; and to **ST. ÆTHELBRIHTE** half a pound's worth; and to **ST. GUTHLACE** half a pound's worth; and to **LEOMYNSTRE** four old oxen; and to **BROMGEARDE** one ox; another to **CLIFTUNE**; and to **HEANTUNE** four oxen; and to **PENCRIC** two oxen; and to **TWONGAN** two oxen. And he gives forgiveness to each of those who have done him wrong for his soul's need. And he gives one year's rent to his men for a gift; as they enjoy the property, so let them discharge the alms that they take (*foth*) from the land

there. And he gives to his lord two horses and two swords and four shields and four spears and ten mares with ten colts. And he begs his lord for the love of God that he will be a friend to his wife and his daughter. And he gives to his wife the land at **Cylles Hale** and at **Eowniglade** and at **Hrodene** so long as she shall live, and after her time let the land go back to my kin that are nearest (*tha thær neliste* [qu. *nehsté*] *syn*); and to **WULFGYFE** my daughter the land at **Dunnintune**, as it stands, and at **Thornbyrig** the land that was bought with her mothers's money from **Leofnoth**; and to the son of **Wulfgifu** my daughter the land at **Ingewyrthe**; and to **WILFEDE** my daughter the other hide at **Tærdebicgan**; and to **ÆLFILDE** my kinswoman the hide beneath the wood just as we gave it on pledge, and if I live longer than she then I shall have the land at **Wrotteslea**. And all those who receive my possessions shall pay to **BRUNE** 20 mancuses of gold, and I give him 6 mares with 6 colts as a mark of my gratitude (*to thance*). And the horses that may be left there (*tha tha thær to hlafe* [qu. *lafe*] *beon*) [to go] to my wife and my daughters (*mine wife [and] minre dohtran*) to all of them a like quantity (*eallum gelice fela*); and the [salt-] spring at the **Wic** to go with **Dunnintune** (*thes wellinc at thære wic into Dunnintune*). And, dear **ÆTHELSIGE**, make this known to my lord and to all my friends.

[Endorsement in a contemporary hand:—"Wulfgeates cwide."]

NOTES.

In this case I have had the advantage of checking my translation with those made by Mr. W. H. Stevenson and the late Mr. W. H. Duignan, which will be found in the *Shropshire Archæological Society's Transactions* (2nd ser., iii 36 and 4th ser., i. 10), and to which I would refer inquirers for fuller information about this document and about the testator Wulfgeat, probably the minister or king's thegn of that name who was disgraced in 1006.

Birch identified the places mentioned in the will as Donnington co. Worcester, Tardebigg in the same county, Worcester Cathedral, Hereford Cathedral (St. Æthelbert), the church of St. Guthlac at Hereford, Leominster Abbey in Herefordshire, the churches of Bromyard in Herefordshire, Wolverhampton and Penkridge in Staffordshire, and Tong in Shropshire, and lands at Evenlode co. Worcester, Rowden (?) co. Hereford, and Wrottesley co. Stafford: but he did not identify Cliftun church or the lands at Cylleshale or Thornbyrig or Ingewyrth, or the salt spring at the Wic. Mr. Duignan agrees with most of these identifications, but for "Dunnintun" he prefers Donnington (or rather it should I think be spelt Donington) between Albrighton

and Tong in Shropshire, and for "Hrodene" Roden in the parish of High Ercall in the same county, while he supplies the following identifications, *viz.* for "Cylleshale" Kilsall in Donington parish co. Salop, for "Cliftun" church either Clifton Camville co. Stafford, or (according to his later view) Clifton-upon-Tame co. Worcester, for "Thornbyrig" Thornbury near Bromyard co. Hereford, for "Ingewyrth" Ingardine in Stottesdon co. Salop, and for "the Wic" Droitwich co. Worcester. So far as the testator's estates are concerned his only interest in Staffordshire appears to have been a contingent interest in Wrottesley if he should survive his kinswoman Ælfhild.

The gift of the testator's horses at the end of the Will is not altogether easy to translate. *Hlafe* appears to be used for *lafe*, as suggested in the notes to Messrs. Stevenson and Duignan's earlier translation and adopted by their later one. Birch inserts within brackets the symbol for "and" between *mine wife* and *minre dohtran*, and part of this symbol is in fact visible in the facsimile of the original MS. Duignan points out in a note to the earlier translation that *minre* is singular and *dohtran* plural, and says that the plural is required by the context: in the later translation "daughter" in the singular is used, unless indeed the apostrophe is misplaced by a clerical error. However, two daughters, Wulfgifu and Wilfred, are previously mentioned in the will, and the plural seems to be required by the context.

NO. XXIV.

[Shaw's *Staffordshire*, i. 28. From Burton Abbey Register, f. 3.]

Exchange between king Æthelred and Wulfgeat, abbot of Burton, of Rolvestun (Rolleston), co. Stafford, for two more distant vills. A.D. 1008.

MUTATIO DUARUM VILLARUM PRO VJLLA DE ROLVESTON.

The founder and creator of the universe, our Lord Jesus Christ, covering Latin himself round with the form of a servant for our redemption, and living amongst men as true God and Man, instructs all faithful men with salutary warnings and with the whole endeavour of the mind hastening them as quickly as possible to celestial joys, thus proclaims to all men saying: "Lay Matt. vi. up for yourselves treasure in heaven" etc. I ÆTHELRED, king of the ²⁰.

Angles, and with the substance given to me abundantly by the Lord himself desiring to purchase heavenly things, have made an exchange with a certain faithful abbot of mine named WULFGET of a certain piece of land. He has given to me two villas (one is called **Ealdesworthe**, and the other **Ælfredintun**), because they were very far from his monastery. Therefore he has with steadfast prayers asked me to grant to him some land near his monastery in a suitable place, and I have given to him in the place which the neighbouring tillers of the ground call **æt Rolvestun**, that is two householders and a half I willingly weigh out to the monastery of the blessed Benedict and of all the Saints which is situate in the little vill of **Byrtun** (Burton), etc. To the intent that food and clothing and every advantage may be administered by them as long as the wheel [*qu. for tota read rota*] of this rolling world is turned. Now if at any time it shall happen that any man shall produce any more ancient book contrary to the freedom of [*i.e. granted by*] this book, let it be reckoned for naught, as long as this one endures and flourishes in its own stability in all things. Moreover let this aforesaid land be free from all secular business with all things duly belonging to it, in fields, pastures, meadows, woods and water-courses, three things only excepted, that is, military service and the building of bridge or fort. And if anyone, as we hope will not be the case, shall strive with firm endeavour to pervert this gift of our munificence, let him be deprived of the society of everlasting felicity and drain the toil of the most dreadful calamity of death, unless before the end he shall strive to make amends for this rash presumption with legal satisfaction.

This land is surrounded by these boundaries.

Anglo-Saxon.

These are the land boundaries at Rolvestun. First from the river Dove (*dufan*) to the heath (*hætte*, *qu. hæthe*), from the heath to the great thorn, from the thorn to the top of the hedge (*hæge stope*), after the top of the hedge to Dotslow (?) (*dottes hlarwe*), from Dotslow to the street there at Anslea [*qu. Anslow*] (*Anside lege*), from Anslea to the dike, from the dike to the foul sitch (*sice*, *i.e. runnel*), from the foul sitch to Wattick's oak (*Wattiches æces*), from Wattick's oak to the hollow pit (*gryffe*) where the old badger holes (*ealden broc holan*) are, from the hollow to the upper end of the ridge (*balcan*), from the ridge to the middle lea as far as the split fence (?) (*scid hæge*), after the split fence across over the broad wood to the boundary brook, down the middle of the brook to the stony ford that lies on Eadgar's lea, from the ford to Wulfeghes hedge, along the hedge to the edge (*ofesan*, *qu. ofesan*), from the edge to the foul sitch as far as the brook, from the brook to Stockley (*stoc legen*) ford by the edge thence to the dike hedge of the lying place (?) (*abithan ofesan in on thone dic hæge leofnathes* [*qu. hleonathes*], from the dike to the foul sitch, along the sitch to Pilebrook down, along the brook to the foul sitch that shoots between two lands (?) (*lundan*), along the sitch to Knave's hill (Cnapan hylle), from Knave's hill (Caapan hylle) to the top of the hedge, from the top of the hedge to the deep dale, from the dale to the Dove at the broad street to Burton, along the street to Winstanes boundary, out through the wood to the thorn where the

thieves lie, from the meadow in an easterly direction (*eafden*, qu. *easten*) to the wood, along the edge then east to the broad street.

This exchange passed in the year of our Lord's appearance M^oVIII^o, the Latin sixth indiction, with the consent of these witnesses :—

- + I Ethelred, king of the Angles, have enriched this gift with perpetual freedom.
- + I Ethelstan, the king's son.
- + I Edmund, the king's son.
- + I Edred, the king's son.
- + I Edgar, the king's son, etc., Archbishops and Bishops.

NOTES.

Rolvestun (Rolleston) is one of the places mentioned in Wulfric Spot's will (1004) and by him given to Ælfhelm. If (as is generally supposed) this was the ealdorman of that name, who was murdered at the instigation of Eadric Streona in 1006, the present charter shows that the murder was a political one and that the king took possession of the murdered ealdorman's possessions. The exchange recorded in this charter was made between king Æthelred and abbot Wulfgeat, the first abbot of Burton, who gave up to the king for Rolleston two of the more distant villas belonging to the monastery, Ealdesworthe and Ælfredintun, which I have elsewhere given my reasons for believing to be Aldsworth and Alvington in Gloucestershire (*Domesday* Aldeswvrde and Alvredintune), and not Aldsworth in Nottinghamshire and Alfreton in Derbyshire, as seems to be generally supposed.

At the time of the Conquest (*T.R.E.*) Rolleston was in the possession of earl Morcar, and in the Domesday Survey it is entered under the lands of Robert de Ferrers and assessed at 2½ hides.

Shaw calls attention to the mention in the boundary description of the thieves' burial place. Other places mentioned there are Dufan (the river Dove), Ansidelege (Anslow), Stoc lega (Stockley), and the street (the Roman road called Ryknield Street). Shaw's version of the Anglo-Saxon boundary descriptions in this and the next charter require careful revision by some competent Anglo-Saxon scholar, and it should be collated with the Burton Abbey Register, from which the charters were taken by Shaw.

No. XXV.

[Shaw's *Staffordshire*, i. 19. From Burton Abbey Register, f. 4.]

Grant by king Æthelred to Wulfgeat, abbot of Burton, of land at Withmere (Wetmoor), co. Stafford. A.D. 1012.

CARTA DE VILLA DE WITHMERE.

Latin. The founder and creator of the universe, our Lord Jesus Christ, covering himself round with the form of a servant for our redemption, and living amongst men as true God and Man, instructs all faithful men with salutary warnings, and with the whole endeavour of the mind hastening (*propeni* qu. *properans*?) them as quickly as possible to celestial joys, thus proclaims to all men saying: "Lay up for yourselves treasure in heaven," etc. By this compelled I ÆTHELRED, king of the Angles, and with the substance given to me abundantly by the Lord himself, desire to purchase heavenly things; to a certain faithful abbot of mine named WULFGET—I have given to him a certain piece of land in a place which the neighbouring tillers of the ground call **Withmere**; that is one manse and a half for his loving obedience and his propitiatory money (*placabili pecunia*) which he has brought down to me in the earnestness of his devotion, that is seventy pounds in gold and silver, therefore I weigh it out to him at his monastery which is called after St. Benedict [and] all Saints [and] which is situate in the little vill of **Byrtun** (Burton) for the use of the servants of God dwelling in the same (*iedem*, qu. *in eodem*) place, [and] confirm it in inheritance for ever, to the intent that food and clothing and every advantage may be administered by them as long as the wheel [for *tota read rota*] of this rolling world is turned. Now if at any time it shall happen etc. [*as in last deed down to the words* "with legal satisfaction"].

This country is encircled by these bounds.

Anglo-Saxon. These are the land boundaries at Withmere (Wetmoor). First from the Trent where the thieves hang to the middle of Berefordesholm, from the holm straight to the mound but five lands short of it (*to geriht to than lewe butan fīf lan be heonan*), from the land to the sitch, from the sitch to the boundary thorn (*than mære thorne*) (*usweardan forstun*), from the thorn to the one acre, from the one acre to the hedge at the brook, along the brook till it comes to the dike at Ansythelege (Anslea, qu. now Anslow), north along the dike till it comes to Ceolfe's croft, to the one that comes from Eansythelege (Anslea), along the street to the stub, from the stub to the dike, along the street that runs by the brook (*yruth bi ebrocān*), from the street to the dike, from the dike straight to the sitch that runs by Chesewælle hill and Hunger hill, along the sitch straight to the elder trees (*ellen*) that stand on the boundaries of Wetmoor and Stretton (*on wihtmere mære ant stretones*), from the elder trees to the ford, along the sitch that shoots from the ford to the Trent, up along the Trent till it comes to the place where the thieves hang or opposite (?) Pylltun's landed possessions and the meadow land (*t. ant pylltunes landes æter* [qu. *land-æhta*] *ant*

mædland), half [belonging] to Wihtmere (Wetmoor) and half to Rolvestun (Rolleston).

This my donation was passed in the year of the Incarnation of our Lord Latin. Jesus Christ M^oXII^o, moreover the tenth indiction. These witnesses were present who have subscribed and granted this and corroborated and confirmed it with the sign of the holy cross.

- + I Æthelred, king of the Angles, have agreed to this my donation and have ordered them to write it and have signed it with the impression of my hands.
- + I Æthelstan, the king's son.
- + I Ælfheah, archbishop, have composed.
- + I Wulfstan, archbishop, have countersigned, and very many other bishops, abbots, ealdormen and king's thegns.

NOTES.

Here again collation with the Burton Abbey Register and revision are badly needed.

Of the witnesses to this charter Æthelstan died before his father; Ælfheah was archbishop of Canterbury 1005 to 1012, when he was murdered by the Danes, and he was afterwards canonized as St. Alphege; Wulfstan was archbishop of York 1003 to 1023.

Wetmoor was still in the possession of Burton Abbey at the time of Domesday, and it was assessed at 1½ hides. The mention in the boundary description of the thieves' hanging place is interesting: Shaw identifies it as the place which in his time was still called Gallows flat and Gallows lane near the town of Burton.

No. XXVI.

[*Mon. Ang.*, ed. 1655, i. 992; ed. 1830, vi. 1446. From In-speximus charter of Edward I. in the possession of the Dean and Chapter of Windsor (1640).]

Letters Patent from king Eadward the Confessor, addressed to the Bishop, the Earl, and the King's Staffordshire thegns, declaring the freedom granted to the priests of Hampton (Wolverhampton). A.D. 1053-1062.

[I] EADWARD king greet LEUEN bishop and LEUEN eorle and all my Anglo-Saxon thegnes in Staffordshire kindly. And I tell you that to my priests at

Hampton—to them I have pledged my troth. Now I will that they and their monastery be free, their possessions thereto rightly belonging also to be free, with sac and with soc, as full and as free as I first had it in every thing. And I will give them then whatever shall rightfully belong to any of them (?) (*ic wille giuen heom than that heom enyg man enyg on riht beoht*).

NOTES.

Eadward the Confessor reigned from 1042 to 1066; Leofwinc was bishop of Lichfield 1053 to 1067; Leofric, the great Mercian earl, whose earldom included Staffordshire, died in 1057 and was succeeded by his son Ælfgar, who on his death in or about 1062 was in turn succeeded by his son Eadwine, the Mercian earl at the time of the Conquest. Who then was earl Leuen or Leofwine? It may be simply a mistake of the copyist for Leuric or Leofric, in which case the date of the letters patent would be between 1053 and 1057. If the name is correctly given, I can only suggest that during one of Ælfgar's banishments (for he was twice outlawed and twice he forcibly recovered his earldom) Leofwine the brother of Harold and son of Godwin may have temporarily held the Mercian earldom or at least the part of it which included Staffordshire. In this case the date of the letters patent would be between 1057 and 1062. The county being specified, the place Hampton is clearly Wolverhampton.

No. XXVII.

[*Mon. Ang.*, ed. 1655, i. 1022; ed. 1830, vi. 1042. From "autographum" at the Abbey of St. Remigius at Rheims.]

Grant by earl Ælfgar to the Abbey of St. Remigius (Remy) at Rheims of the vill of Lapley, co. Stafford. A.D. c. 1061.

Latin.

In the name of the Lord Jesus Christ [and of] the highest and undivided Trinity. Be it known to all worshippers of Christ that ALGAR formerly a noble earl of the English (*quondam* [qu. *quemdam*?] *Anglorum comitem Ingenium* [qu. *ingeniosum* or *ingenuum*?]) has given to ST. REMIGIUS of the Church of RHEIMS for the soul of his son, *sc.* of the name of Burohard, a certain vill, which is called in the English tongue *Lappeleya*, with its appendages; for whose corruptible body indeed coming from Rome divine predestination has ordained burial in the aforewritten burial place of the cathedral (*in præscripto polianeso basilice* [for which Du Cange in his

Glossarium suggests *polyandrio*]), in order that for him men serving Holy Church there may pray faithfully with constant prayers to God the rewarder of all good men : and concerning this therefore he has decreed that it be publicly affirmed with such a covenant, that if by chance any violator of Holy Church, imbued with deadly lust at the instigation of the Devil, should ever wish to take anything away from it, he together with Dathan and Abiram, whom the earth swallowed up alive, may suffer detestable condemnation, and be for ever accursed. But whosoever shall be zealous to increase or preserve the aforesaid benefaction (*stipendium*), may he obtain a blessing in the churches together with St. Remigius where he shall be glorified with Christ,—which may the compassion of the Saviour, who lives, grant. And this indeed, that it may be the more surely believed, he has established under suitable witnesses, whose names are inscribed in order. For the first truth-speaking witness was Edward by the grace of God king of the English, then Edgith the queen, from whose stock he had drawn his origin, and Stigand archpresident (*archipræsul*), and also Aldred and Heremann bishop, and Aluuald bishop, and Leuine bishop, and Willerm [*qu. Wilhelm?*] bishop, and Walter bishop, and Gisa president (*præsul*), and moreover Harotens [*qu. Haroldus?*] duke, Tostin Gird and Luine, Waltef also, together with many very powerful princes. This writing is held divided in two charters, one of which written in the English tongue the same earl Algar has kept in his own possession, and the other worded in the Latin language he has dutifully transmitted to St. Remigius.

NOTES.

This charter, which is one of the few that are not to be found either in the *Cartularium Saxonicum* or the *Codex Diplomaticus*, purports to be taken from the original at St. Remigius abbey at Rheims, but the reference in it to “the *aforewritten* burial place” and the unusual form of the attestation clause rather suggest that it was really taken from a copy entered in a cartulary of that abbey. Its date can from the names of the grantor and the witnesses and other internal evidence be assigned with some confidence to about the year 1061. It was in this year that Ealdred, bishop of Worcester, on his election to the archbishopric of York, went to Rome to obtain his pall, and that Walter and Gisa also went there to be consecrated on their appointment to the bishoprics of Hereford and Wells respectively, Earls Tosti and Gyrth being also at Rome at the same time. From the deed itself one would conjecture that they were accompanied by Burheard, the grantor’s son, and that the latter died on his arrival at Rheims on the journey back from Rome

and was buried there, the benefaction being made or confirmed by his father in his memory on the return of the party to England. The story of the foundation of Lepley Priory is told by Eyton in his *Staffordshire Domesday Studies* (p. 42) on the authority of the French annalist, and it bears out exactly what would be inferred from this foundation charter. Ælfgar the grantor, the son of Leofric and father of Edwin and Morcar, became earl of Mercia on his father's death in 1057, and died about 1062. Of the witnesses, king Eadward the Confessor died in 1066; and his queen Eadgyth or Edith, who was the daughter of earl Godwine and sister of Harold, died in 1075. Stigand was appointed bishop of Elmham in 1043 and of Winchester in 1047, and was archbishop of Canterbury from 1052 to 1070. Aldred or Ealdred, abbot of Tavistock *c.* 1027, was bishop of Worcester from 1046 to 1062, and archbishop of York from 1061 to 1069. Heremann was bishop of Ramsbury from 1045 to 1078; Alwald or Ælfweald was bishop of Sherborne from 1045 to *c.* 1058, and from this deed I conclude that he was still bishop in 1061; Leofwine was bishop of Lichfield from 1053 to 1067. William, one of the king's chaplains and a Norman, was bishop of London from 1051 to 1075; Walter, the queen's chaplain and a native of Lorraine, was bishop of Hereford from 1061 to 1079; and Gisa, another king's chaplain and from the diocese of Liège, was bishop of Wells from 1061 to 1088. The lay witnesses were Harold, *dux* or ealdorman of Wessex from his father's death in 1053 to 1066 and then for nine months king of England, his three brothers, Tosti, Gyrth, and Leofwine, and Waltheof the young son of Siward earl of Northumbria. (It is easy to see how the last four letters of the name "Haroldus" might come to be mistaken for "tens," if the top of the letter "d" reached back to the letter "l.") Tosti was appointed to succeed Siward as earl of Northumbria on the death of the latter in 1055, Siward's son Waltheof being then a boy; he was banished in 1065 and died in 1066. Gyrth was made earl of East Anglia, or at any rate of part of it, in 1057, and Leofwine earl of Kent, Surrey, Essex, Middlesex (except London), Hertfordshire, and perhaps Buckinghamshire about the same time: they both fell with their brother Harold at the battle of Hastings in 1066. Waltheof, Siward's son, was afterwards

appointed earl of Northumbria by the Conqueror in 1072, and died in 1076.

The only difficulty that requires notice is the statement in the attestation clause that the grantor Ælfgar was sprung from the same stock as the queen. The queen's parents were Godwine, earl of Wessex, and Gytha, the daughter of Thurgills Sprakaleg the Dane; Ælfgar's were Leofric, earl of Mercia, and the celebrated Lady Godiva or Godgifu, who was a sister of Thorold of Bucknall, sheriff of Lincolnshire; and it is difficult to see how the relationship between the two comes in. Ælfgar is described in the charter as "*quondam [qu. quemdam] Anglorum comitem.*" Ælfgar, the son of Leofric, was earl of East Anglia during earl Harold's banishment in 1051-2 and again in 1053, before either of them had succeeded to his father's earldom, but it is not clear why the word "Anglorum" is used here instead of "Merciorum." Ælfgar was outlawed in 1058, and the exact date of his restoration to the Mercian earldom is uncertain. But the word "Anglorum" may perhaps have been used in the more general sense, just as the king is called "rex Anglorum" in the same deed.

The grantees were the Black Monks of the Abbey of St. Remigius or St. Remy in Rheims, who continued in possession of Lapley till the reign of Edward III., and subsequently held it under lease from the Crown until the suppression of alien cells in the reign of Henry V., when it was given to the college of Tong in Shropshire founded by Isabel de Pembrugge: after the surrender by the last warden of Tong College in the time of Henry VIII. Lapley, with most of the other possessions of Tong College, was granted to Sir Richard Manners kt. (*Rot. Pat.*, 1 Ed. VI., pt. 6). In the Domesday Survey Lapley (Lepelie) together with Marston (Mersetone), which also belonged to the abbey of St. Remy, is erroneously entered under Northamptonshire, the name of the hundred being given as Codwestan,—evidently Cuttlestone hundred, co. Stafford, as there was no hundred bearing any such name in Northamptonshire.

No. XXVIII.

[*Cod. Dip.*, iv. 201, No. 842, and *Mon. Ang.*, ed. 1830, i. 300 (from MS. Cotton. Faust, A. iii, f. 109b). *Facsimiles of Anglo-Saxon MSS.* (Ordnance Survey), part II, Westminster, Nos. 11 and 12 (from original in the possession of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster), with translation by W. Basevi Sanders. See also Shaw's *Staffordshire*, ii. 206.]

Letters Patent from king Eadward the Confessor, addressed to the Bishop, the Earl, and the Staffordshire king's thegns, granting Pertune to St. Peter's, Westminster. A.D. 1062-1066.

Anglo-Saxon.

✠ [I] EADWARD king greet LEOFWINE, bishop, and EADWINE, earl, and all my thegns in Staffordshire kindly. And I make known to you that I have given to Christ and ST. PETER of WESTMINSTER the land at **Pertune** and all the things that thereto belong, in wood and in field, with sac and with soc, as full and as free as it stood to myself in hand, in all things to feed the abbot and the brotherhood that dwell within the monastery. And I will not permit any man to oust there any of the things that thereto belong. [God keep you all.]

NOTES.

These letters patent are in duplicate, to one of which was attached a portion of a seal, which Sanders says is the Great Seal. In the latter document the last four words are absent. The combination of king Eadward, bishop Leofwine and earl Eadwine fixes the approximate date of these letters patent as between 1062 and 1066.

Perton was still in the possession of the abbey of St. Peter of Westminster at the time of Domesday: it was assessed at three hides.

This completes the list of Staffordshire pre-Conquest Charters so far as they are known to me. There are two charters in Birch's *Cartularium Saxonicum* (Nos. 80, 1134) which mention the forest of Kinver in giving the boundaries of lands just over the Worcestershire border; one, dated in 736, speaks of "silva

quam nominant Cynibre," the other in 964 mentions "Cynefares stane." There are also two other charters given by Kemble (*Cod. Dip.*, Nos. 984, 990) and Birch (*Cart. Sax.*, Nos. 22, 48), which include places not actually in Staffordshire but very close to the border on the Shropshire side, *viz.* Scuffenhalch, Costesford, and Lusgeard, evidently the places now known as Shifnal, Cosford, and Lizard, the hill from which Weston-under-Lizard derives its name; and these, if genuine, would have some interest for Staffordshire readers. But both these charters are marked with an asterisk by Kemble as being open to suspicion, and both have been definitely rejected by later authorities as forgeries. The first professes to be a charter by Wulfhere king of the Mercians to Medeshamstade (afterwards Peterborough) Abbey dated in 664, and this Mr. W. H. Stevenson pronounces to be a late twelfth-century fabrication (*Shropshire Arch. Soc. Trans.*, 4th ser., vol. i, p. 2). The other purports to be a charter to the same Abbey by Æthelred, who succeeded his brother Wulfhere as king of the Mercians in 675, dated 680 and promulgated at the celebrated Council of Hætfeld (Hatfield?) held in that year; and of this charter an Anglo-Saxon version is set out in the Peterborough MS. of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. Suspicions as to its authenticity are raised by the fact that it is connected with a *privilegium* of Pope Agatho, conferring very extensive and exceptional privileges upon the Abbey, and by the unusually elaborate way in which the official positions of the various witnesses are set out; but, besides this, two of the witnesses are (1) Wilfrid archbishop of York, who had in fact been deposed from the Yorkshire bishopric in 678 and did not return there as archbishop until 686, and (2) Waldhere bishop of London, whose predecessor Eorconweald or Erkenwald appears to have been still bishop several years after 680. This charter has been rejected by Haddan and Stubbs (*Concilia*, iii. 161; *cf.* Articles by Bishop Stubbs in the *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, *sub nom.* Erkenwald and Waldhere). But, though it is now rejected as spurious, it was believed in by Hugo Candidus, the early twelfth-century subprior and historian of Peterborough Abbey, whose authority stands high. In his history (ed. Sparke, p. 9) he makes long verbatim extracts from this *privilegium* and charter of 680, though he does not mention the earlier charter of

664. A forged charter may often be valuable evidence of ancient tradition, and in this case the fabrication may with reasonable probability be attributed to the date of the restoration of the Abbey under king Eadgar, *c.* 866, which is approximately the date assigned by Bishop Stubbs to the Chertsey forged charters, so that it would have been worthy of mention here, if it had dealt with lands actually in Staffordshire.

In the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* or in Beda there are a few, but I believe very few, notices of Staffordshire places, and these I may briefly mention here.

Four battles of some importance were fought within the limits of the county. The first is the battle fought at Woddesbeorh (Wednesbury) in 591 between the West Saxons under Ceaulin and the Britons, which resulted in the defeat and expulsion of Ceaulin. (*Ang.-Sax. Chron.*; Henry of Huntingdon; *sub anno.*) A second great battle was fought at the same place, Wodnesbeorh, between Ine king of Wessex and Ceolred king of the Mercians in 715, when Henry of Huntingdon tells us the slaughter was prodigious. (*Ibid.*) Nearly two centuries later, in 910, a third battle was fought in the county between a combined force of West Saxons and Mercians under Eadweard the Elder and the Danes, this time at Teotanheale, which is identified by Florence of Worcester as being "in provincia Staffordiensis" (*sc.* Tettenhall, near Wolverhampton), and this resulted in the defeat of the Danes. (*Ibid.*) In the following year (911) another great battle was fought between the same opponents, in which a signal defeat was sustained by the Danes, whose two kings Ecwile and Healfden with several of their chief men and many thousands of others were slain (*Ibid.*); and Florence tells us that this battle was fought at Wodnesfeld, *i.e.* Wednesfield near Wolverhampton.

On the division of Mercia into separate dioceses by archbishop Theodore in or about the year 669, one of the new sees was established at Lyccidfeld (Lichfield) with Ceadda or Chad as its first bishop. He had previously been bishop of York, but a question had arisen as to the validity of his appointment, and he at once resigned, and shortly afterwards undertaking his new charge made his abode near Lichfield, where three years later he died and was buried. (Beda, *lib.* iv, *cap.* 3.) In 716, not long after the second

battle of Wednesbury, Ceolred king of the Mercians died and was buried at Lichfield (*Ang.-Sax. Chron.*).

The river Treanta (Trent) is mentioned twice by Beda, the first time *c.* 655, as the boundary assigned by Oswin, king of the Northumbrians, to the kingdom of the South Mercians, in which he established his son-in-law Peada, the son of king Penda, after the death of that king (*lib. iii, cap. 24*), and the second time as the scene of a battle between Ecgfrith, king of the Northumbrians, and Æthelred of Mercia in 679 (*lib. iv, cap. 21*), but there is no reason to suppose that this battle was fought in Staffordshire.

On more than one occasion the Watling street, which runs through the middle of Staffordshire, was laid down as the boundary between the Anglo-Saxon and the Danish territories. It probably was so in the time of king Ælfred, though it is not expressly so stated in the treaty between him and Guthrum the Dane after the peace of Wedmore, *c.* 878: the boundary as there defined proceeded from the Thames, up the Lea, past Bedford, and then along the Ouse as far as the place where that river crosses the Watling street, but the boundary definition is carried no further. It was certainly the boundary agreed upon between king Eadmund and Anlaf or Olaf, the Danish king of the Northumbrians, when peace was made between them at the intervention of the two archbishops *c.* 939, and again nearly 80 years later between Eadmund Ironside and Cnut after the great battle of Assandun in 1016 (*Ang.-Sax. Chron.*). Florence of Worcester (*sub anno* 1013), in referring to the Watling street, describes it as the street which the sons of king Weatla constructed across England from the eastern to the western sea.

In 913, during the rule of Æthelflæd, the celebrated Lady of the Mercians and daughter of king Ælfred, we read of "burhs," or earthwork forts, being built at Tamaweorþige (Tamworth) and Stafforda (Stafford), which would command the approaches at the confluence of the Tame and the Anker and on the Sow, all tributaries of the river Trent. A few years later, at some date between 918 and 922 (the various MSS. of the Chronicle give both these dates, while Florence of Worcester puts it at 919 "in the eighth year of her sole rule"), Æthelflæd died at Tamworth, the royal seat of the old Mercian kings, which she had rebuilt. After her death Tamworth was taken possession of by her

brother king Eadweard the Elder, and soon after Eadweard's death in 925 there was a meeting there between his successor king Æthelstan and Sihtric king of the Northumbrians, when Æthelstan gave his sister in marriage to Sihtric. On Sihtric's death the following year Æthelstan took possession of the kingdom of Northumbria, but some years later after Æthelstan's death war broke out again between his successor king Eadmund and Sihtric's son Anlaf, who stormed Tamworth, and there during the pillage Wulfrun was taken prisoner, the date assigned by the Chronicle being 943. It is not quite clear whether this was before or after the treaty of peace, under which the country to the north of the Watling Street was ceded to the Danes.

We hear nothing more of Staffordshire until 1013, when king Sweyn crossed the Watling street and invaded the country lying to the south of it. In 1016 Eadmund Ironside, then known as the ætheling, his father Æthelred being still on the throne, marched into Staffordshire; and so far as I am aware this is the first mention of the county as a "shire" in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. In 1039 is recorded the death at Lichfield of bishop Beohtmær, and under the year 1066 it is mentioned that Burton was one of four abbeys besides Peterborough which had been held by abbot Læofric, the nephew of earl Leofric of Mercia.

Florence of Worcester, who died in 1118, gives us a few more notes of Staffordshire places during the Anglo-Saxon period. Under the year 675 he refers to Werburga, the sainted daughter of king Wulfhere, and states that she died in one of her own monasteries at Triccingeham and was buried in accordance with her own wishes at Heanbirig. There is a place called Trinchingeham in Lincolnshire, and a Hanbury in Worcestershire, but the death and burial places of St. Werberga have been universally identified with Trentham and Hanbury in Staffordshire, at both of which places there is a tradition that she founded monasteries, and both were places situate in the neighbourhood of seats or burial places of the Mercian kings. Nearly two centuries later, in 875, her bones were removed to Chester, so as to be out of danger from the incursions of the Danes. From Florence we also learn that earl Leofric died in 1057 at his own vill of Bromleage, which I presume to be King's Bromley.

Hugo Candidus, the Peterborough historian, who is

supposed to have died in or soon after 1155, states (ed. Sparke, p. 39) that the bishops St. Cedd and St. Ceata, as well as St. Ceadda (Chad), were buried at Licchesfeld, St. Edgitha at Thameworth, St. Berthelmus martyr at Stetford (*qu.* Stafford?), and St. Modwenna at Birtuna (Burton-on-Trent).

There are doubtless many other notices of Staffordshire places to be found in monastic records, *e.g.*, the foundation of a college of secular canons at Stone *c.* 670 by king Wulfhere, as an expiation for the murder of his own two sons, Wulfade and Rufin, because they had become converts to the Christian faith. But notices of this kind lie outside the scope of the present paper, which I will bring to a conclusion with a tabular list, for convenience of reference, of the civil and ecclesiastical rulers of Mercia, or rather of that part of it which included Staffordshire, up to the date of the Norman Conquest. This list is based upon Mr. W. G. Searle's invaluable tables given in his *Anglo-Saxon Bishops, Kings and Nobles*, to which I desire gratefully to acknowledge my indebtedness.

MERCIAN RULERS.

<i>Kings of the Mercians.</i>	<i>Bishops.</i>
626-655 Penda, son of Pybba, son of Creoda.	<i>c.</i> 656- <i>c.</i> 658 Diuna, bishop of the Mercians.
655-656 Peada, son of Penda [<i>qu.</i> king of Southern Mercians only, <i>i.e.</i> south of the Trent].	658-659 Ceollach, bishop of the Mercians.
659-675 Wulf here, brother of Peada.	<i>c.</i> 659- <i>c.</i> 662 Trumhere, bishop of the Mercians.
	662-667 Jaruman, bishop of the Mercians.
	669-672 Ceadda, bishop of the Mercians (<i>sc.</i> Lichfield) and of the Lindisfari.
	672-675 Wynfrith, bishop of the Mercians (<i>sc.</i> Lichfield).
675-704 Æthelred, brother of Wulf here.	675- <i>c.</i> 691 Seaxwulf.
704-709 Coenred, son of Wulf here.	691-716 (or 727) Headda, bishop of Lichfield and Leicester.

MERCIAN RULERS—*contd.**Kings of the Mercians.**Bishops.*

709-716 Ceolred, son of Æthelred.	716 (or 727)-737 Ealdwine (or Wor), bishop of Lichfield and Leicester.
716-755 Æthelbeald, great-grandson of Pybba.	737-c. 749 Hwita, bishop of Lichfield.
757 Beornred.	752-765 Hemele, bishop of Lichfield.
757-796 Offa, great-great-great-grandson of Pybba.	765-c. 769 Cuthfrith, bishop of Lichfield. c. 769-c. 777 Beorhthun, bishop of Lich- field. 779-c. 787 Hygebeorht, bishop of Lich- field.
796 Ecgfrith, son of Offa.	c. 787-c. 803 „ archbishop of Lichfield.
796-821 Coenwulf (Cenwulf), great- great-great-great-great-grandson of Pybba.	803-c. 814 Ealdwulf, bishop of Lich- field.
821 Coenhelm, son of Coenwulf.	c. 816-c. 817 Herewine, bishop of Lich- field.
821-823 Ceolwulf I., uncle of Coenhelm.	818-828 (830) Æthelweald, bishop of Lichfield.
823-825 Beornwulf (<i>dux</i> 812-823).	
825-827 Ludica, <i>propinquus</i> of Beorn- wulf.	
c. 830-839 Wiglaf.	830-c. 836 Hunbeorht, bishop of Lich- field.
839-852 Beorhtwulf, <i>qu.</i> brother of Wiglaf.	836-c. 841 Cynefrith, bishop of Lich- field.
852-874 Burgæd or Burhred (<i>dux</i> 850).	c. 841-c. 857 ¹ Tunbeorht, bishop of Lichfield. [866 Eadbeald, bishop of Mercia.]
874-c. 875 Ceolwulf II.	c. 869-c. 875 Eadbeorht, bishop of Lich- field.

¹ Mr. Searle (*Introd.* p. ix) says that the succession of the bishops of Lichfield between the years 857 and 916 is uncertain, as the ancient catalogues give no names of bishops of that see in those times. I have added the name of bishop Eadbeald, whom he mentions in his Index as a Mercian bishop (866), but does not name in his list of bishops of Lichfield or in any other list.

MERCIAN RULERS—*contd.*

<i>Kings of England.</i>	<i>Rulers of Mercia.</i>	<i>Bishops of Lichfield.</i>
871-901 Ælfred.	c. 884-912 Æthelred, <i>procurator, subregulus.</i>	c. 880-c. 889 Wulfred.
901-924 Eadweard the Elder.	912-c. 919 Æthelflæd, lady of the Mercians.	c. 901-c. 909 Wigmund.
924-940 Æthelstan.	919 Ælfwyne, lady of the Mercians (deprived of rule by king Eadweard the Elder).	c. 916-c. 937 Ælfwine (or Ælle).
940-946 Eadmund the Elder.		c. 941-c. 948 Ælfgar (or Wulfgar).
946-955 Eadred.		949-963 Cynesige.
955-957 Eadwig (Eadgar <i>subregulus</i>).	955-983 Ælf here, ealdorman.	c. 964-c. 973 Wynsige.
957-975 Eadgar.		
975-978 Eadweard, the Martyr.		c. 975-c. 1002 Ælfheah.
{ 978-1013 { Æthelred, the "Unredy." 1014-1016 {	983-985 Ælfric, ealdorman.	
	[c. 993-1004 Wulfric Spot, <i>comes Merciorum</i> ?] ¹	1004-1020 Godwine.
1013-1014 Sweyn.	1007-1017 Eadric Streona, ealdorman.	1020-c. 1026 Leofgar.
1016-1035 Cnut.	1017-c. 1028 Leofwine, ealdorman.	c. 1026-1039 Beorhtmær.
1036-1040 Harold Harefoot.	c. 1028-1057 Leofric, earl.	
1040-1042 Harthacnut.		1039-1053 Wulfsige.
1042-1066 Eadweard, the Confessor.	1057-c. 1062 Ælfgar, earl.	1053-1067 Leofwine.
1066 Harold.	c. 1062-1071 Eadwine.	

¹ I have added here Wulfric Spot's name among the rulers of Mercia, but his position and the limits within which he ruled are both very uncertain.

EARLY STAFFORDSHIRE HISTORY.

(FROM THE MAP AND FROM DOMESDAY.)

BY THE HONORARY SECRETARY.

IT is said that a tribe called by the Romans *Cornavii* once occupied the land which now is Staffordshire. I have not studied the authorities for this curious "horned" tribe, whose very name is only equalled in vagueness by the suggestion that they took their appellation from the shape of the Wirrall peninsula—in days before the existence of Geographical Primers. The name is evidently written large over all the map of the Midlands, and there is no need for loyal sons of Staffordshire to cherish an exclusive interest in an Ancient Order of Old *Cornavians*.

But what I wish to emphasise, perhaps exaggerate, is that whatever race dwelt in Staffordshire when the Romans came, dwell there still in spite of four conquests. The rulers changed, but it was a shadowy rule; the landowners changed, but they were often absentees; the Saxon masters managed even to change the language—in time; but the race remained as uncontaminated with Roman, German, Dane or Norman blood as if it had lived in Cornwall or Wales. Only in the last two hundred years, since migration set in, have the surrounding counties mitigated to some extent the Celtic provincialism of Staffordshire.

THE ROMAN SETTLEMENT.¹

The Staffordshire wastes and watersheds took little from the Romans. A couple of Roman roads,—Watling Street and the Rykenield Street from Derby to Birmingham,—are all that Professor Haverfield will certainly allow us.

Both Watling Street and Rykenield Street can be traced on the modern map,—indeed the former is still, throughout its

¹ For detailed information as to supposed Roman finds, see *V.C.H. Staffs.*, pp. 189-198.

Staffordshire course, a public highway; for Rykenield Street we have often to follow hedge lines and lanes. Both Streets seem to have been plentifully used as boundaries in ancient times,—boundaries of parishes and boundaries of the county over certain lengths. Names of places along the Streets attest the effect of these ancient wonders on the Saxon settler.

Watling Street, coming from Warwickshire, where it had bounded the parishes of Amington and Polesworth, passes Two Gates and enters Staffordshire by crossing the Tame at Fazeley, over Lady Bridge. Thence this Street runs straight, past Streetway House, to Wall; anciently "Letocetum." Here Watling Street was crossed by the Rykenield Street and with a sharp bend began to run due west,—Muckley (Muckle Low) Corner and Knaves Castle (Cnaven castel) lie on this stretch of four miles, which is the boundary of Shenstone and Lichfield parishes. One mile inside the borders of Norton Canes parish the Street again turns west-north-west over Cannock Chase for eight miles to Water Eaton in Penkridge, past Norton Hall, Streetway Farm, Church Bridge, Bridgtown, Langford (anciently Langstret, 994), Four Crosses in Hatherton, and Gailey (Gragelie) in Penkridge. In this stretch it bounds for a mile, and nearly bounds for three miles, the parishes of Cannock and Great Wyrley. Turning due west again at Eaton, the Street crosses the Penk at Stretton Bridge (perhaps the original Cuttlestone Bridge) and, running straight for ten miles, forms the boundary line of the parishes of Stretton, Penkridge, Lapley, Weston-under-Lizeard, and Sherrif Hales on the north, and Brewood, Blymhill, Tong and Shiffnal to the south. It goes on to Oakengates and Wroxeter (Viroconium).

Rykenield Street comes south-south-west from Little Chester by Derby, absolutely straight from Derby to the hamlet of Chesterfield in Shenstone. It crossed the Dove near where Monk's Bridge now stands, past Stretton, and just missed Burton and Branston, where modern developments have obliterated the site of the road. The line of the Street is clearly indicated through Barton and Tatenhill parishes, though the present road does not generally follow exactly on the old track. At Wichnor it crossed the Trent, passed east of Alrewas through Hillards Cross (Elards), Streethay, Austin's Cote and

Knowle to Wall (Letocetum) and Chesterfield. The Street is the boundary of Streethay and Whittington parishes (half a mile), also of the parishes of Lichfield and Swinfen (a quarter of a mile). The Street vanishes on modern maps when we enter the parishes of Wall and Shenstone, but the direction and the name show that it ran straight from Derby to Chesterfield in Shenstone. The traces of the Street south of this point show that the Street took a sharp bend at Chesterfield, one nautical point more to the south, past Fotherley Hall, along Forge Lane, past Little Aston in Coleshill, and Streetly and Thornhill. As "Kingstanding Road" it formed the boundary of Staffordshire and Warwick for a couple of miles along the heath of Coldfield. It ran through the north of Handsworth parish as Holly Lane and, still on a straight line from Chesterfield, crossed the Tame at Oldford and plunges into the wilderness of modern Birmingham.

On these two Streets there are many place-names that prove the Street and straighten the modern road. If we turn, however, to the other so-called Rykenield Street which is to run from Red (Ridge) Street and Chesterton by Wolstanton, through Fenton Manor, Longton, Lane End, the Meir passage, Blythebridge, Blythemarsh, Draycott, Totmonslow and Tean to Rocester, there is much less evidence of any road from the map. There is but one "street" place-name; the only bit of parish boundary is that two miles between Caverswall and Stone, which indeed is also the hundred boundary. A road itself shows clear and straight on the map from Fenton Manor House to Draycott, seven miles; after Tean the road wanders in a most un-Roman curve, and there is nothing straight or street-y till Derbyshire is reached. Beyond Rocester there is indeed evidence of a perfectly straight Street running by Cubley, Bentley, Longford, Thurvaston, Long Lane, Langley Common, Mackworth and Markeaton to little Chester, the Roman station on the Derwent just north of Derby. The Derbyshire part looks more like a Roman road than does the Staffordshire element. But even in the Staffordshire stretch there is Red Street (Ridge Street), Chesterton, and the straight street from Totmonslow to Fenton Manor.

The Hulton Abbey Foundation Charter (1223) proves at least the antiquity of the name. It traces the bounds of the

manor of Normacot,—“to Old Blithford (now Blithbridge Station), and so by the old course of the Blithe to Wetemoresbrook, and so across Thursmore to Hyndewell, and thence going up by Rikenilde Streete and by the vill of Mere to the spring coming out of the assarts of Mere.” . . .

I am inclined to think that the Romans had some sort of a road, Derby, Rocester, Chesterton, Chester; well made as far as the Dove at Rocester, made up again where it passed through the moorlands by Draycot, but elsewhere a track rather than a made straight road.

A few Roman coins have been discovered at Rocester, Alstonefield, Wetton, Mayfield, Alton and Wootton; at Callingwood and at Madeley Manor; and at Wednesbury, Rowley Regis and Arley in the south. But even Pennocrucium (Stretton) and Letocetum (Wall)¹ were rather, I think, the *dak* bungalow than the Roman villa,—just a rest house, a camping ground, a store and a few adobe huts for natives. Neither in Warwickshire nor in Staffordshire were there any Roman villas, no Roman towns: what places of habitation can be traced at all are really just these two, Pennocrucium and Letocetum.

Professor Haverfield, in dealing with the Second *Iter* of Antonine,—Deva—Bovium—Mediolanum—Rutunium—Viroconium,—places the debatable “Rutunium,” tentatively, on the Roden Stream some ten miles north of Wroxeter (Viroconium), and suggests that the stretch Bovium—Mediolanum should be X miles, not XX miles. If this is correct, and he traces the road along the line indicated with some care, then the placing of Mediolanum at Chesterton near Newcastle is put out of court. He thinks the road ran on through Whitchurch and Aldford to Chester. Again writing of a suggested Roman road through Newport, Market Drayton and Chesterton, he says,—“There seems however no reason to suppose that any of these three places are Roman sites, and for the roads themselves there is, in general, no evidence” (*V.C.H.*, Salop, p. 272). He is reluctant to treat as Roman the Derby—Rocester—Draycot—

¹ The *V.C.H. Staffs.*, p. 184, calls Letocetum “perhaps even a small walled town. I cannot, however, put so much faith in Colonel Bagnall’s ‘foundations of a wall about 11’ thick.’”

Chesterton road, for which, as I have stated, there seems to be more evidence; and in all matters of Roman roads the opinion of Professor Haverfield is decisive.

Professor Haverfield has not written, as yet, anything on the Roman roads of Staffordshire, but he has written on those of Derby and Salop in the *Vict. Co. Hist.* Dealing with the latter county, he sets us on the track of another probable Roman road in Staffordshire, branching from Watling Street. "One line," he writes, "however, does seem to be Roman, at least for some thirteen miles, and may have belonged to a road running north-west from Watling Street, and providing a short cut to Chester or Manchester: its southern end is conjectural. It may have branched off somewhere near Stretton and the Penk Brook" (*V.C.H.*, Salop, p. 273). He indicates that the marked part of the road is the "Longford Road" in Co. Salop, running from near Hinstock to near Whitchurch, some thirteen miles.

Now, if we look closely into the line laid down by the Professor throughout its Staffordshire portion, we shall see on the 6" Ordnance Map signs which corroborate his suggestion. A straight road runs in exactly the right direction from Stretton to Stonyford in Lapley. Carry on this line and it passes $\frac{1}{4}$ mile south-west of Little Onn, along an irregular lane to Beffcote in Gnossal, crosses the Humesford Brook, and strikes the Guild Lane north of Aqualate Mere. Still carrying on the line, it passes $\frac{1}{4}$ mile south-west of Weston Jones, runs straight along the Gorse Lane, and for three miles bounds the county in a straight line. At Whitleyford Bridge, the junction of the parishes of Weston Jones, Forton and Adbaston, it crosses the Lonco (Wlonkeslowe) Brook, and while bounding the county it passes Camp Fm. Gorse Lane, or its continuation, carries the line on straight to that northern part of Hinstock where the more definitely Roman "Longford Road" takes up the running and, still in the same direction, goes through Shakeford, Ternhill and Bletchley to Whitchurch. The only parts of the county boundary which are straight are those bounded by Roman roads.

Indeed, one could argue *a priori* that, as the Romans must have wanted to go from London to Chester, they would not always have been content to go round by Wroxeter (Viroconium), but would rather cut the angle at latest as soon as the Penk was

passed. It is not, indeed, impossible that another short cut to the same destination, even in Roman times, started from Tamworth, after passing the Tame, and ran up the Trent Valley through Chesterton to Chester. But the later the road, the less would it be impressed on the country and the less would street or Roman names dot its course.

In those parts of England which were really occupied by the Romans the Latin speech became accepted ; but by the sixth century the Celtic language had revived, even in the settled parts, while in Staffordshire the people had hardly mixed with Roman culture, even in the palmiest days of the Empire. We may suppose that the population was too sparse and too retiring by nature to furnish an efficient supply of labour for the Romans. The Celtic tribes merely continued on in forests like Needwood and Cannock, Leek and Kinver, trapping the coney, hare and brock, hunting with spears the wild cattle ; while, fenced in with a thorn zareba from wolf and human prowler, they watched their women tilling the garden patch that found them food. They talked Welsh in the time of Penda, probably well down to the time of the Conqueror ; but they left no more mark on the map than have the Kafirs on the map of South Africa.

THE SAXON SETTLEMENT.

Two hundred years after the last of the Roman Legions had marched away down Watling Street to the sea, there came other men to trouble Staffordshire. The rest of England had long since learnt to know the cold and brutal Anglo-Saxon. Towards the end of the sixth century the first of them came upon Staffordshire—the outlaws and cattle thieves first, the labour agents next—the usual scum before the tide of immigration. They came, some from the east, Middle English from the basin of the Wash ; some from the south, Hwiccans of the Severn valley ; some of the same sort from the west from Shropshire, for Staffordshire was the last rock above the rising tide of settlement. The new masters all acknowledged in some sense Penda and Offa, kings with a “ hall ” at Tamworth and a mausoleum at Repton, and they were known as the men of the marches. They subdued and terrorised Staffordshire A.D. 600–700.

Settlers followed slowly—so slowly that 400 years later

Staffordshire equalled Cumberland, Lancashire and Cornwall in insignificance of taxable value, population and rent. Most of the county was indeed far below the margin of cultivation. The settlers followed on the heels of the conquistadors and by the same routes up the river valleys. If we may assume that the original hide was the "manse" of a family, then some hundred families came from the east, spreading from Hanbury and Sudbury on the north to Wednesbury and Handsworth on the south. Other four hundred, if four hundred it was, came in from south and west.

Besides the evidence from Domesday dealt with later, there is some slight evidence as to the direction from which the settlers came to be gathered from place-names. I take the distant, original counties of Dorset and Norfolk for comparison: one was the origin of the West Saxons, the other of the Angles; and count the "-hams," "-tons," and "-leys." Norfolk is twice the size of Dorset, so I double the number in the latter county for the comparison, and multiply the others correspondingly.

	Norfolk.	Dorset.	Offlow.	Pirehill.	Cuttlestone.	Seisdon.
		× 2	× 7½	× 6	× 12	× 12
-ham ...	147	30	7	6	36	60
-ton ...	131	204	211	516	732	468
-ley ...	12	38	112	210	120	432

It will be seen that in -tons and -leys Cuttlestone, Seisdon and Pirehill are most prolific, and that their -hams are too few to be in any case much of a guide, but so far as they go they correspond with Dorset rather than with Norfolk.

The settlement of Offlow from the east is historical. We may suppose that Tamworth existed, at least in name, in the time of Penda (626-655); Burton, also on the border and near Repton, may be very early. It was about 670 that Chad, being made Bishop of the Mercians, put up in the wilderness near "Letocetum" a wattle mission church for the savage Celt, and called it Lichfield. It too was near Tamworth, the capital (if a nomad monarch could have a capital) of the kings of Mercia; so that it conveniently qualified for the seat of the

Mercian Church. So few were the buildings other than the church, so insignificant their value, that, on the ground of its being an obscure village even after four centuries, the bishopric was changed to Chester in 1075. The Saxon bishops themselves, we may suppose, were accustomed to follow the King's Court. No Charter has survived that was signed at Lichfield in Saxon times.

It is remarkable that one may hunt through Kemble's *Codex* and through Birch's *Cartularium* and find few certain references to Staffordshire lands or churches. Besides Lichfield and Tamworth there are only two places in Staffordshire that are mentioned even in the Chronicles before the coming of the Dane. They are doubtful—Willenhall and Wednesbury. About 738 or 747 Ethelbald, king of the Mercians (716-757), tests two Charters at "Willanhalch" (*Cart. Sax.* 149, 150); this place Duignan believes to be Willenhall in Staffordshire, though there is another Willenhall in Coventry. I think the testing was more likely to have been done at a Willenhall near Coventry. But Duignan seems to me to be on surer ground when he places the site of Cealwin's defeat by the Britons in 592 at Wednesbury. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* says: "There was a great slaughter in Britain at Woddesbeorge (another version says Wodensbeorge) and Cealwin was driven out." Again, under 715, the *Chronicle* tells us that "Ina (king of Wessex) and Ceolred (king of Mercia) fought at Woddesbeorge (or Wodnesbeorge)." For exhaustive reasons given by Duignan both these battles seem more likely to have taken place at Wednesbury than at Wanborough, Wilts, which was "Wenbeorg" in three charters of the ninth century. (Duignan, *Staffordshire Place Names*, Preface.)

The County Hidage (c. 1016) assesses Staffordshire at 500 hides. Maitland relates the hide to the manse, to the holding of one family, in its original conception. Even if we assume that each hide meant a separate Saxon household, that "dummying" was unknown, that hide-assessments were not made to half-breed descendants of the early trappers and outlaws, the vortrekkers of Saxon culture, even then we can see how few were the Saxons that came to Staffordshire, how small is the admixture of German blood. There were, in theory, 500 settler units, who

brought that sparse proportion of women that settlers ever bring ; and they came among Celts who were not killed because they were wanted alive to work. The thousands of Celts, whatever their numbers, 5,000, 10,000, or 15,000, had nowhere to flee to, for the Saxons were all around them. It is idle to speculate what of the 500 were Angle and what Saxon, for Prof. Chadwick has shown that, whether they came up from Dorset or from Norfolk in the east, they were one and the same race—a Saxon people with an Angle aristocracy that came from Schleswig.

At first sight it would seem strange that, with so large a Celtic predominance, no trace should be left in language and so little in nomenclature. But the isolated coloured race that inhabits St. Helena, and the almost equally isolated Cape Boys of Cape Colony, speak English or Dutch and have forgotten their original tongue in less than two centuries. The conqueror despises and drops the language of the slave ; the slaves imitate the conqueror. Yet just as you still find in South Africa the Tugela, the Komati, the Limpopo, the Marico, so the Dove, the Trent, the Churnet, the Stour, the Tean, the Tern, the Tame, the Dane, and many others still perpetuate the language of a subject people. Though, on maps now, the Gariep has become the Orange River, and the Quathlamba range the Drakensberg, yet Majuba Hill is likely to be permanently on the map, and so are the Matoppoos and the Magaliesbergen. Just so the hills of Gun and Talk, and forests of Cannock and Leek preserve the Celtic name. It is doubtful whether Lichfield and Keele are not themselves Celtic. Other Staffordshire place-names, that Duignan calls Celtic, are : Brewood, Heighley, Monmore, Monway, Morfe, Onn, Penkridge, and Seisdon. But place-names in the old language are few, even though we remember that Duignan knew little Celtic and always preferred to work round to an Anglo-Saxon derivation. We may add that just in the same way few place-names in Kafir survive the expatriation of the native chief. The little "tuns" took their respective names from their varying owners, till at last a name stuck.

THE DANISH SETTLEMENT.

So far we have set down all that is known of the Saxon Settlement prior to the coming of the Danes. The Saxon Settlement, 650-850, was not allowed long to rest in even the doubtful peace of occasional Welsh raids. With the coming of the Dane the gradual settlement of the district ceased. But for two reasons Staffordshire must have suffered less from Danish raids than other parts of the Kingdom. It lies furthest from any coast; and it was the poorest part of the country, without a town of any consequence unless it be Tamworth, with hardly a Religious House till 994, always just an outspan on the road to somewhere else.

But Tamworth was a Mercian capital. Burhred, the Mercian under-king who had been married to Ethelswyth, the sister of Kings Ethelred I. and Alfred, called first for help against the Danes in 869; and with his two Royal brothers-in-law Burhred went out and took Nottingham from the raiders. The Danes came down again the following year, and before 874 they had overrun Mercia and annexed the country, putting up a dummy king. King Alfred's struggles further south ended for a time in the Peace of Wedmore, 878; and by a further Treaty in 884 the Watling Street became the boundary between Saxon and Dane. It is doubtful from the terms of the Treaty how far Watling Street was intended to be a boundary so far northwards as Staffordshire, but what little one can gather from place-names, from the appearance of "carucates," from the situation of Ethelfleda's Burghs, it seems not unlikely that the Street was the actual boundary throughout its whole length as far as Wroxeter and Shrewsbury. Dr. Reid urges that through such a wild debatable country as Staffordshire there was nothing more suitable than this Street to be found for a boundary.

In any case the boundary did not last long. Of that part of Mercia that he still held, King Alfred made Ethelred, of the Mercian Royal House, ealdorman; and married him, about 880, to his eldest daughter Ethelfleda, the Lady of the Mercians. At that time even the English portion of Mercia was subject to constant raids, by the Danes from the north-east, by Danes and Norsemen from the Dee and Mersey, and by Welsh from the west. There is

no evidence that Ethelred and Ethelfleda set up their palace at Tamworth, right on the border, before 900; but we know that after King Alfred's death in 899 the future King Athelstan was brought up at their Court at Tamworth. After 913, Staffordshire may be considered as Saxon territory. Chester was fortified and colonized in 907 to protect the land from the sea pirates. In 910, Ethelred being ill, Ethelfleda and King Edward the Elder defeated the Danes from the Five Boroughs at Tettenhall; and again in the following year the same confederation soundly beat the Danes and Norwegians, who came down from the Wirral, at Wednesfield, driving them back to the Welsh border. In 911, Ethelred died and Ethelfleda became sole ruler of Mercia. She built her castles, Scargate and Bridgnorth on the Severn, Eddisbury, Tamworth, Stafford, as a defence against west and north-east. She broke the Welsh at Brecknock in 916. Then she turned her attention to the Danes of the Boroughs. In 917 her men stormed Derby, and in 918 Leicester fell. That same year she died at her palace at Tamworth, 12th June, 918. The fortifying of Manchester and Bakewell by King Edward, *c.* 920, completed the girdle round Staffordshire, which lasted for seventy years.

The raid which ravaged Tamworth in 941 and carried off Wulfruna was an isolated affair. Even the coming of Swegn in 1013, though all North England submitted to him, hardly introduced the Danes to Staffordshire. Mercia was then under Edric Streona, who was rather a supporter of Swegn and Cnut than of the Saxon House, and indeed it was Edmund Ironside who is recorded as having ravaged Staffordshire in 1016 because the ealdorman was with his enemies. The Welsh raided Staffordshire in 1011, but of all the recorded marchings and raids of the Danish kings, none, during the unfortunate reign of Ethelred the Unready (978-1016), seems to have been taken through Staffordshire. The Danish settlement, such as it was in North Staffordshire, must have taken place during the periods 870-920 or 1016-41, or by more peaceful methods of individual penetration.

Though the Danes had so short a nominal control over North Staffordshire there are still indications of their sojourn to be found in the old records on the map to the north. For instance, the

place-name Carr occurs nine times in the Hundreds of Pirehill and Totmonslow. This is a common name in the east of Lincolnshire, and is said to be old Norse for a wet moor or boggy copse. "Clough," too, occurs twenty-five times in Totmonslow and five times in North Pirehill, and of this word Duignan says: "The word is not admitted to be Anglo-Saxon, and is probably of Norse origin, as it has never been found in any Anglo-Saxon document, and is confined to the northern counties" (*Staffordshire Place-Names*, p. 42). It is possible, too, that some of the ten "knowls" in the north of Totmonslow hundred are the Norse homestead rather than the Saxon hill-top. Other place-names are certainly Danish; Thorpe Constantine, for instance, a salient among the "thorpes" and "bys" of Leicester and Derby. Thorpe Cloud is across the valley of the Dove in Derbyshire, but Swinscoe and Crakemarsh on the Staffordshire side of the valley show that the Dove valley was the Danish road to the Moorlands. It is up this valley, too, at Okeover, that the earliest Burton Abbey surveys show rents paid in the Danish ore rather than in shillings and pence. Moreover, in the moorlands and as far up the Trent valley as Cannock and Bishton, we find in Domesday the use of a probably Danish carucate instead of the Saxon hide; Droighton near by seems to suggest the "tun" of the Danish "drengr," cousin to the thegn of the Saxon tongue.

I suspect, however, that the Danes were mostly traders, and sailed up the rivers Trent and Tame from Derby and the Five Boroughs long after the subjugation of the Danelaw. Derbyshire is all Dane, so it is but natural to find at Burton and all up the rivers certain islands called "holme," the Danish name for island. There are Horseholme, Fatholme, Catholme, Tuckleshome, Penkholme, Bustlehome, to be found on or in the rivers throughout Offlow Hundred. There are "holmes" on the Dove at Uttoxeter. One cannot doubt that the Danes were river-folk so far as Staffordshire was concerned with them. Perhaps they would not leave Derbyshire to settle in Staffordshire, so that there are no "bys" in the county, even north of Watling Street.

It is well known that one of the best marked signs of Danish settlement to be found in Domesday Book is the assessment of the land in carucates instead of in hides. Generally, instead of a five-hide unit, we find in the Danish counties a six-carucate

unit. Otherwise we may take it that for fiscal purposes hide and carucate were synonymous. Now in the Staffordshire Domesday there are certain isolated instances where the word carucate seems to occur. Where the Latin word is contracted to *car.*, or *caruc.*, one can only use the context to decide whether *caruca* (plough or team) is intended or *carucata* (carucate). It is only *carucat.* that must mean the Danish-seeming carucate.

At Bescot, well south of Watling Street, is "*una caruc' tre vasta.*" I have shown later that, with other four hides, Bescot's one *caruc.* makes up the five-hide unit of Walsall. I can only think *caruc.* here is a slip for hide.

Consall, up north on the Churnett, with the distinctive word *carucata*, must, I think, preserve the Danish unit. It is a question to my mind whether the units are not also really given in carucates for Wootton, Stanton, Musden, Sheen, Stanshope, Farley, Alton, Denstone, Cheadle, and several other villis in the king's hands, waste in Totmonslow. The entry runs generally, "*In STANESCOPE tra ii car' Wodie tenuit.*" To none of these same waste villis in Totmonslow is any hidation attributed.

The berewicks of Lichfield—Packington, Hammerwich, Wyrley, Rowley, Norton, Stichbrook—are all on or just north of Watling Street. I cannot, however, explain them as Danish. They were waste it is true; but *carucatae* (once), and *caruc.* (twice) must really mean teamland rather than carucate, for unlike the Totmonslow villis their assessment is included in the hidation of Lichfield.

The *caruc.* mentioned at Caverswall and the same at Madeley-Alfac are north of Watling Street. But in both cases *caruc.* must be the short for *caruca* (teamland). Half a hide in one case, a virgate in the other, could not include and exceed a full Danish carucate.

At Cannock and at Bishton there are clearly Danish carucates; for, though *caruc.* is the abbreviation, the teamlands are given also, separate and distinct.

On the whole I am only inclined to see the Danish carucate in these two, Cannock and Bishton, and possibly in the waste villis of the northern moorlands. I am guided in my conclusions as to these northern villis by the names of the pre-Conquest tenants; they seem to be more Norse—*Swegn, Archil, Uchtred,*

Aelfward, Wodie, *Juvar* or *Iwar*, *Wulfac*, *Wulfgeat*, *Swegn*, Dunning, *Wulfmar*.¹ It is, I think, quite possible that these northern villis were never hidated or carucated, but when colonized the formal Danish name was adopted irrespective of its connotation in the fiscal system of the kingdom. The carucate of Totmonslow was in fact a sort of cross between a teamland and a carucate. But at least the cross shows the Danes in possession.

Of course it was not only during the stormy years round 900 that the Danes came into Staffordshire, whether as traders or settlers; they may well have dribbled in after 1016 under the Danish kings, or indeed at any time before the Norman Conquest.

THE FIVE STAFFORDSHIRE HUNDREDS.

At some time before, or during, the coming of the Danes the Hides of Staffordshire were collected into Hundreds; perhaps it would be more accurate to say that the Hundred, as an administrative and fiscal unit, was set up and hides allotted to each Hundred. According to Domesday Book (1086) there were then in Staffordshire, as there have been ever since, the following Hundreds containing hides as set against them:—

Offlow...	...	...	...	121 $\frac{3}{4}$ hides.
Seisdon	...	...	...	171 $\frac{1}{2}$ „
Cuttlestone	...	...	...	120 „
Pirehill...	...	...	...	86 „
Totmonslow	...	...	...	22 „
				Total 521 $\frac{1}{4}$ „

The names of the Hundreds are in three cases taken from hills,—Pirehill, Offlow, Totmonslow; Seisdon was a large central manor of 5 hides whose soke was in the king; Cuttlestone, now the name of a comparatively modern bridge over the Penk just above Penkridge, may possibly have once marked the spot, two miles higher up, where Watling Street crossed the Penk and split in two. All the name-givers were centrally situated in their Hundred except Totmonslow, which lies near the Pirehill boundary. Whereas in Shropshire a manor

¹ Those names in italics seem to me to be Danish; see note at end.

in the king's hands, with a probable bailiff, was generally the *caput* of each Hundred, no such arrangement is to be traced in Staffordshire, except perhaps in Seisdon.

While there are certain natural features which in some directions separate Staffordshire from the surrounding counties,—Dove, Trent and Tame on the east for instance,—the mountains in the north,—the Stour for a short piece in the south,—yet the internal boundaries of the Hundreds pay even less attention to natural features. Offlow spread west till it got up against the forests of Cannock and Needwood; but nothing natural separates it from Seisdon, or Seisdon from Cuttlestone, or Cuttlestone from Pirehill, or Pirehill from Totmonslow. Still less does the semi-natural feature of Watling Street affect the Hundreds: it divides Offlow and Cuttlestone in two, showing that the question of the Hundred had nothing whatever to do with Watling Street as a boundary.

No doubt the boundaries of the Hundreds were at first vague: a man might almost choose his Hundred, as they must have done to produce the chaos of the Salop Hundreds. The one circumstance that seems to have had anything to do with the delimitation of the Hundred boundary in Staffordshire, and which must therefore have preceded that delimitation, is the position and rounding up of the Bishop's manors.

From the place-names of the different Hundreds we can learn something, not only of the physical, but also of the racial characteristics of each. Just as there is an obvious difference between the place-names of Derbyshire, Warwickshire and Shropshire, so careful study will reveal differences, less marked but still obvious, between the place-names of the five Staffordshire Hundreds, differences which, as in the case of the counties, should tell something of differences of race.

I analyse all the place-names. For the purpose of this analysis I divide the Hundreds of Pirehill and Totmonslow into north and south, so as to produce seven series of names approximately equal in number;¹ in each of these seven areas

¹ I draw the division between North and South Pirehill just south of Barlaston and Maer; that between North and South Totmonslow just north of Dilhorn and Cauldon. The Seisdon Hundred analysed is not the old Domesday Hundred, but the later smaller Seisdon, without Bridgnorth.

we can examine some 800 distinct names of places, streams or features.

I set down first the frequency of the terminations on the modern map of such words as "carr" and "clough," supposed to be Norse; then "knowl" and "haugh," doubtful, but surely north country terms; then "cop," which is the German "kopf"; "sitch," which is so typically Staffordshire, with "shaw" and "edge"; "low," the authorship of which is difficult to determine and which is so peculiar to the northern moorlands. Lastly one comes to the settlements: the "ton," the prevalence of which indicates the density of Saxon settlement; the "ham," "worth," "bury" and "ington," which hint at the oldstanding of the settlement.

Termination.	Totmonslow, North.	Pirehill,		Cuttleston.	Seisdon.	Offlow.	Totmonslow, South.
		North.	South.				
Carr	2	2	1	0	0	0	4
Clough	22	5	1	0	0	0	3
Knowl	10	3	2	0	2	2	1
Haugh	6	3	2	1	0	0	1
Tor	6	2	0	0	0	0	1
Cop	0	4	2	1	1	1	0
Low	29	8	15	1	4	5	26
Shaw	18	2	4	4	2	2	6
Edge	25	7	2	1	1	0	6
Hope	4	1	0	1	0	1	0
Sitch	10	4	8	4	1	5	1
-ton	13	24	55	53	26	23	25
-ington	1	0	7	8	3	5	2
-ham	4	1	0	3	5	1	1
-worth	1	0	2	2	1	2	1
-bury	3	0	2	2	4	3	2
-borough	0	0	0	0	0	5	0
-thorpe	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
-by	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

I would add that Cop, Low, Shaw, Edge and Sitch are more common in Staffordshire than in any other county; that -ton is more common in Leicester and Rutland than in Staffordshire by 50 per cent.; that -worth and -bury are most common in Dorset, and that Staffordshire has fewer -worths than almost any county; that -ham, which ends 15 per cent. of the place-names in Norfolk,

only terminates '2 per cent. in Staffordshire, again less than any other county. One may add further that in general prevalence of names each Hundred is, as one would expect, most similar to that county that adjoins it beyond the borders of Staffordshire.

The next Table is taken from Domesday Book, and shows the number of teams, the total number of names recorded, the number of names ending in -ton, as recorded in Domesday in 1086, for each of the seven areas dealt with in the previous Table. It bears out entirely the deductions one must make from the last Table, that the Saxonised early settled district of Staffordshire consisted of South Pirehill and the Cuttlestone Hundred, west of Cannock Chase, for it is there we find both Domesday place-names and -tons most frequently.

	Totmonslow, North.	Pirehill,		Cuttlestone.	Seisdon.	Offlow.	Totmonslow, South.
		North.	South.				
Teams... ..	19	74	183	224	247	266	73
Places mentioned ...	15	29	102	80	49	62	35
Those ending in -ton	2	8	40	38	10	16	7

Of all the hundreds, Cuttlestone and South Pirehill alone compare at all with the hundreds of other settled counties. Offlow, alike in size, place-names and character, is very similar to the great adjoining Hundred of Coleshill in Warwickshire. It is far more cut off from Cuttlestone than from Coleshill, and its Warwickshire origin is evident. But the most obvious difference of name type is between Totmonslow and North Pirehill and the more southern Hundreds; the absence of settlement and the prevalence of Norse names is sufficiently marked to show that either the hilly nature of the country or its situation far north of the Watling Street boundary had sufficed to effect some distinction of race between North and South Staffordshire. The distinction of race, however, is, in my opinion, not so much between Dane and Saxon as between Celt in the moorlands and Saxon in the ploughlands.

Having dealt with the physical and racial characteristics of the different Hundreds, let us now turn to the hidation to see what more can be learnt of their history from that source. There were $521\frac{1}{4}$ hides in the Staffordshire of 1086. Now we may go back further, get an earlier figure, and see that there were 500 hides in Staffordshire when the "County Hidage" was drawn up.

The "County Hidage" may be put down vaguely to the reign of King Canute (Maitland), or before that reign (Tait). Here it is, so far as our counties are concerned :—

Worcestershire	...	1200 hides (1189 hides)	(12 Hundreds).
Warwickshire	...	1200 hides (1338 hides)	(12 Hundreds).
Oxfordshire	...	2400 hides (2412 hides)	(?, but 19 or more Hundreds).
Shropshire	...	2400 hides (1438 hides)	(15 Hundreds).
Cheshire	...	1200 hides (512 hides)	(12 Hundreds).
Staffordshire	...	500 hides (520 hides)	(5 Hundreds).

The part in brackets is taken from Domesday. The counties of the Danelaw are not given or were not then fixed in hides or carucates, so that we cannot compare Derbyshire or Leicestershire.

Prof. Maitland has dealt with the reliability and authenticity of this valuable document—with its remarkable agreements with, and explicable disagreements from, the hidage of Domesday. (*Domesday and Beyond*, pp. 455–60.)

Cheshire may be a Cheshire including most of Lancashire and even a large part of Yorkshire and Wales: not knowing its boundaries in 1016, we need not trouble with the difference between 1016 and 1086. Shropshire may have included more of Wales in 1016. But the other counties are close to their Domesday hidation, enough both to inspire confidence in the document, and to make one suppose that the hides set down in the "County Hidage" are what was originally intended to be the hidage of the original counties.

But there is yet more in these figures. In the above summary I have added in brackets the number of Hundreds that there were in each county at Domesday. It looks as though either the compiler of the document, or the originators of the Hundreds, thought that a Hundred *ought* to contain a hundred hides. But these Staffordshire Hundreds, any more than Hundreds in

Shropshire or elsewhere, will not fit into that neat scheme. Their hidage is $121\frac{3}{4}$, $171\frac{1}{2}$, 120, 86, 22, at the time of Domesday.

I have attempted to evolve a theory that Pirehill and Totmonslow were originally one, and that we ought to discover here three long Hundreds of 120 hides each and one long Hundred and a half of 180 hides, but it is not worth putting on paper. It is possible that Totmonslow was split off from Pirehill or colonized in the moorlands and created after the other Hundreds were established, after the retrocession of the Danes. Totmonslow hill itself is so close to the border of Pirehill and so far from the centre of its Hundred. It is a mistake to attach too much importance to the effort to make a Hundred into a hundred hides, long or short. Mr. J. H. Round (*Feudal England*, p. 71) says that "the long hundred prevailed in the Danish districts, which were also assessed in sums of 6 and 12." In Saxon districts multiples of 5 and 10 prevail. But Mr. Round (*ibid.*, pp. 59, 62, 66) gives long lists of Hundreds which all contain hides in multiples of 5 or 10, but in which the exact figure 100 or 120 hides does not predominate. Neither in North nor South Staffordshire do I find any multiple of 3, 6, or 12. 'Cooking' hides is an attractive pastime, but vain. On looking at Shropshire we find alongside Cuttlestone the great Hundred of Wrockwardine with $173\frac{5}{12}$ hides, so very similar to our Seisdon; and further south, in the hill country round Ludlow, there was a Hundred of Ovret containing $27\frac{1}{2}$ hides, just as similar to Totmonslow.

A century or more before the date of the "County Hidage" some West Saxon official drew up, probably as part of some defence scheme, what has become known as the "Burghal Hidage." This List, in which Prof. Maitland also puts faith (*Domesday and Beyond*, pp. 502-6), records against the Burghs of the West Saxons the hides appurtenant thereto. With the List itself we are not concerned, but at the end of the List the compiler or another has added—

Astsexum triginta Wygraceastrum mcc hydas Waeringe-
wice feower et xxiiii hund hyda.

Apparently, Essex 3000, Worcester 1200, Warwick 2404 hides.

The hidage attributed to Warwickshire, and the dating of this document, are of the greatest importance to us. The "Burghal

Hidage" proper (before the additions were made) mentions Oxfordshire but not Bedfordshire. Now Oxford and Middlesex had been taken from Mercia into the king's hands on the death of Ealdorman Ethelred in 911; they were probably made shires then. Dr. Rachel Reid puts the date of the Burghal Hidage at *c.* 911, adding that the additions at the end may be 911-913, or not till 919, when the rest of Mercia was incorporated in Wessex.

In this Burghal Hidage there is no mention of any county of the Danelaw, of any county north of Watling Street. But parts of Northampton, of Staffordshire, of Shropshire are south of the Watling Street, and they are not specifically mentioned. The north-eastern boundary of Warwickshire *is* Watling Street, and Warwickshire is found with twice as many hides as it ought to have, judged by the County Hidage of 1016. It is not too great an assumption to guess that the Warwickshire of 911-9 embraced those parts especially of Staffordshire and Shropshire that were Saxon, and lay south of the Watling Street boundary. The Hundreds being older, pay no attention to the Watling Street boundary; but that is no reason why a recently created county of Warwick should not have been understood to include the balance of hides that lay south of the new boundary, and so it had 2404 hides and was a Warwickshire of enormous dimensions.

We have already got an early limit to the date of the Burghal Hidage: it mentions Oxfordshire, and is therefore after 911. It may now be assumed to be before the recovery of the Danelaw, before the end of that period during which the Watling Street was a real boundary, 884-913. Indeed 913 can almost be assumed to be the other later limit to the date. For in 913 Ethelfleda built Tamworth and Stafford north of the Street.¹

We come to this, then, that the Burghal Hidage was earlier than the building of the Burghs and later than the death of Ealdorman Ethelred in 911. We see also that not only was the Burghal Hidage compiled before the building of the Burghs, but

¹ Dr. Rachel Reid writes—"This is a brilliant suggestion. If it works out right, it decides the question of whether the Staffordshire Burghs were built before or after hidation, and it would also date the Burghal Hidage as earlier than the building of the Burghs, perhaps 911-3."

the Hundreds themselves, at least the Staffordshire Hundreds, are also earlier than the building of the Burghs ; thereby confirming what I deduce hereafter from a study of the map.

The following is what one can get by studying the map. The boundaries of the Hundreds present certain remarkable features.

Abbots Bromley is in Pirehill, but projects into Offlow. Before 1004 Bromley was the land of Wulfric Spot, associated with Cotwalton in Pirehill. But if the hundreding had been done after 1004, Bromley would assuredly have been in Offlow, with the bulk of the Abbey lands bequeathed by Wulfric Spot to Burton Abbey lying in that Hundred. So the hundreding may be supposed to have been done before 1004.

Half the parish of Wolverhampton is in Seisdon Hundred, half in Offlow Hundred ; the latter portion includes (probably consisted of) Wednesfield, Willenhall, and Pelsall. These three manors had been given by the Lady Wulfruna to the Church of Wolverhampton in 994, joined therefore then, one may suppose, to the parish of Wolverhampton. So the hundreding was before 994 also. Just as Wolverhampton parish seems to have been formed after the Hundreds, so also was the parish of Stoke-on-Trent. Most of that parish lies in Pirehill Hundred ; but Bagnall in Stoke parish to this day lies in Totmonslow ; and in 1086 the Church of Stoke had its land at Caverswall in Totmonslow. If the Hundred had been subsequent to the parish, there is little doubt that the Hundred boundary would have brought the parish and its land all into one Hundred.

Exactly the reverse is seen when the lands of the Bishopric are examined. They must have been church property before the hundreding, for the hundred boundaries wander wide to shepherd them into one Hundred. All the bishop's lands round Lichfield are shepherded into Offlow Hundred. From Rowley in Ridware on the north to Wyrley the boundary of the Hundred is the boundary of the bishop's land. Tipton projects right out into Seisdon, but it was the bishop's, and is therefore included in Offlow. Harbourne is a peninsula projecting into Warwick and Worcester shires, but it was the bishop's and so it was included in Staffordshire and in Offlow Hundred. We may add that Dudley (Earls'), and Rowley (Regis) might have been in Offlow, but they were not the bishop's, and therefore they are not in Offlow nor in

Staffordshire in Domesday, but in Worcestershire, as they are ecclesiastically to this day. Elsewhere the southern boundary of Pirehill shepherds into that Hundred all the lands of the bishop attached to the Manor of Eccleshall, including Ellenhall and Seighford.

But Stafford itself furnishes the most remarkable case and evidence. I premise that Castle Church parish was originally part of old Stafford parish. Now, and always since there was such a parish, the Pirehill-Cuttlestone boundary cuts right through that old Stafford parish. I submit that the position of Stafford itself and of the parish relative to this boundary, as well as the fact that Stafford is not as are other capitals the *caput* of a Hundred, tends to show that the Staffordshire Hundreds are older than the castle of Stafford built by Ethelfleda in 913. On this assumption, Bridgnorth and Stafford were both subsequent to the hundreding; I think it not unlikely that Tamworth too, rebuilt in 911, a seat of Government from 900 onwards, was also in its new birth subsequent to the shearing into hundreds, otherwise a Hundred would probably have been formed round it.

If the shearing into Hundreds took place previous to 900 A.D. and the grants of lands to the bishopric took place further back still, then we may attribute a pre-Dane origin to the bishop's manor, church and town of Eccleshall. The endowments of the Church of Worcester are said (*Vict. Co. Hist.*) to have taken place between 710 and 957. It seems probable that the Church of Lichfield was endowed before 900; and if before 900 then, in view of the disturbed state of Mercia from the time of the union of the Kingdoms in 824 until 900, we cannot place these great endowments round Lichfield and Eccleshall later than the reign of Offa or of his immediate successors.

The bishop's manors seem often to have escaped hidation when hidation was imposed. Brewood is 5 hides, Baswich 5, Haywood with Wolseley, Hixon and Fradswell 1 hide, Eccleshall 7, Ellaston $\frac{1}{4}$, Lichfield $25\frac{3}{4}$. But no hides are set against Acton, Coley, Moreton, Droighton, Sugnall, Seighford, Harbourne, Smethwick and Tipton. Though all these may be in one or other of the other hidated manors, their apparent escape is at least curious, and dates, I suggest, from the time of the original hundreding.

To sum up, therefore, it would appear that the endowment of the bishopric of Lichfield preceded the delimitation of the Hundreds ; that the creation and delimitation of the Hundreds preceded the building of Stafford in 913, but was subsequent to the death of Offa in 796 ; that the creation of the ecclesiastical parishes of Wolverhampton and Stoke was subsequent to the delimitation of the Hundreds ; that the county was formed after the Hundreds, after the founding of Stafford, and before 1016, when such a county is first mentioned in contemporary documents.

Dr. Reid is of opinion, after careful consideration of this evidence, that the naming of the Hundreds, the allotting to them of the hides, belongs to the period 878-913. I am inclined to suggest an earlier date for the original Hundreds. It seems to me that their independence of Watling Street, their indifference to the existence of any such boundary, makes it unlikely that they should date from the period 884-913, during which Watling Street was a very real factor in English geography. I have given reasons for supposing that the Hundreds were already in existence when Ethelfleda built Stafford castle in 913. Now from 870 till 884 Staffordshire was entirely in the hands of the Danes ; the Hundreds could not have been formed in those years.

On the other hand there are two arguments to support Dr. Reid. If you push the date of the Hundreds back beyond 870 you may push it back to the time of Offa (755-96) before you will discover a time sufficiently peaceful, or a ruler sufficiently strong, to put hides into Hundreds and to tax them and judge them. Again, when I deal with the five-hide unit in Staffordshire it will be seen that, while a good many of these groups are north of Watling Street, only one single five-hider is to be found in Pirehill Hundred and none at all in Totmonslow. I can conceive of the three southern Hundreds being created in the period 878-913, and of the two northern Hundreds being made in later safer times to fill up the county when the five-hide principle had been forgotten.

THE COUNTY OF STAFFORD.

Though the terms of the 884 Peace, with its Watling Street boundary, brought little direct change to the inhabitants of the

wastes and forests of Staffordshire, north or south, yet it is certainly to the presence of the Danes that we owe at last the creation of a Stafford and a county of that name. Stafford would never have existed in its own right: it blocked a way to somewhere else.

It will be remembered that before the advance on the Danelaw, 913-916, Ethelfleda, Lady of the Mercians, first laid out the Burghs—Chester 907, Scargate 912, Tamworth and Stafford 913, Warwick 915. Ethelfleda made Stafford: it did not exist before, for from its strange name alone we may reject the legendary "Bethany."

Stafford is a ford, flanked by staithes, over the river Sow—the sough that drains all that rich pasture land. The track to this Staithe Ford came from Weston, where it could ford the Trent, from Uttoxeter where it crossed the Dove, and from the Danish land beyond. To trek south-west from the Danelaw there was only this road and the line of the Rivers Trent and Tame. Going on south from Stafford, the Uttoxeter-Stafford road cuts Watling Street near Penkridge and wanders on south to Worcester. The Castle at Stafford blocked this road, just as the Castle of Tamworth blocked both the line of the rivers and also the road coming westwards from Ashby and Leicester. Moreover, both Tamworth and Stafford covered the Watling Street, a Street not so much the old boundary as the main artery of the Kingdom connecting London and the port of Chester.

One other fortress Ethelfleda built, a fortress and a bridge over the Severn at the place now called Bridgnorth. Throughout the Middle Ages this ancient Burgh was known as "The Bridge," the only bridge over Severn between Worcester and Shrewsbury. The road connecting Watling Street at Tamworth with Central Wales *via* Walsall and Wolverhampton crossed the Severn at Ethelfleda's Burgh of Bridgnorth, built in 912. The triangle, Stafford—Tamworth—Bridgnorth, was the shell of Staffordshire.

After Ethelfleda's death in 918, Mercia for some forty years remained merged in Wessex. It only emerged again for a time under Ælfhere, "the wicked earl Delfer" of the Pershore Chronicle, the friend of King Edgar and of Dunstan. This

ealdorman Ælfhere (956-983) and his son Ælfric Child (983-985) ruled a small but well-ruled Mercia. Certainly before the end of their time Staffordshire was a unit like other counties; but I think it was so even before their time. While it was a pure dependency, 919-956, Mercia had become too large to administer as a single unit under the new conditions of centralized control. It should be in that period that Mercian Shires and Sheriffs took their origin.

In the Burghal Hidage no Staffordshire occurs at all, though there are duly to be found in the additions (911-919) to that list a Worcestershire and a Warwickshire—a Warwickshire with too many hides in it that may have included part at least of the future Staffordshire. Neither Staffordshire nor Shropshire, nor any of the counties of the Danelaw, appear as counties in this Burghal Hidage of 911-919. But with Mercia merged in Wessex the need for sheriffs must have become manifest: shire and sheriff grew together, administrator and unit. Under the ealdormen Ælfhere and Ælfric the sheriffs were their deputies in the different counties. The relations of the sheriff to Crown and to ealdorman were never quite defined, but the sheriff and the shire developed simultaneously, and both were needed in the period 919-956. Either during that period, or certainly before the death of King Edgar in 975, Staffordshire and the other northern Midland shires—Salop, Derby, Leicester, Northants, Cheshire, and Notts grew, became units and acquired a ruler and a delegate of the royal authority in their midst. The county of Staffordshire is at last mentioned in the County Hidage of *c.* 1016, and in the Chronicles of that year it is described as being ravaged by Edmund Ironside.

The new Shires had to be comfortably collected round their capitals. Derby, Warwick, Worcester, Shrewsbury, and Chester were obvious capitals. The blank space in between had to find a capital. Such a central spot was found in Ethelfleda's castle of Stafford on the Sow. Stafford and its twin border Burghs, Bridgnorth and Tamworth, showed where the county was wanted; Stafford was in the middle, and it was near the join of three Hundreds, Pirehill, Offlow, and Cuttlestone. Those Hundreds (which may for a time have been held to have lain in Warwickshire) would make a Staffordshire; with Seisdon they

joined up to the border Burgh of Bridgnorth ; with a sector out of the unattached northern moorlands the county was made up ; and perhaps it was then that this northern sector was incorporated in the fiscal system and called Totmonslow. These five Hundreds they might have said shall form the county—stretching Pirehill to the north-west *limes*, and calling the unassessed moorlands of the north Totmonslow.

One further historical hint we can gather from the county boundary. North-west and north-east small rivers bound Staffordshire—the Dane and the Dove. An unfordable great river may well bound a county, back to the dawn of history ; but when we find a jumpable stream the boundary, we may suspect the hand of the geographer rather than that of the administrator of the tenth century. Really, in the tenth century, there were no settlements up in the north, no knowledge of the country, no ownership, no vested interests. The county was supposed to run up to a point in the mountains, Three Shire Head, at the source of Dove and Dane.

The county of Stafford was built up on Ethelfleda's castles, Tamworth, Stafford, and the Bridge. But the extension of the county to Bridgnorth in the south-west, lying all along the Severn, has long since been withdrawn. That part of the old Seisdon Hundred was "mised" in Shropshire, either because the Earl of Shropshire owned that quarter of the Hundred, 1068–1103 ; or because, after the Earl lost it, the Crown kept it and managed it from Shrewsbury with the rest of the escheated earl's estates. Prof. Tait, in the *Vict. Co. Hist. for Salop*, says the boundary was probably withdrawn under Henry I., 1100–35, and certainly before 1157. Minor changes in the county there have been from time to time. Clent, with its appanage Rowley Regis, was taken from Worcestershire and included in Staffordshire. Cheswardine was taken from Staffordshire and mised in Shropshire ; Sheriff Hales has gone in modern times to Shropshire. But, in general, boundaries of county and of Hundred seem to have perdured a thousand years, collected round the fort on the Sow, called Staithe-ford or Stafford.

There is little that one can gather of the county, after it was a county, from either Chronicles or Charters, until we reach the time of Domesday. King Edgar, 957–975, is said to have used

the territorial division of the Hundred as the basis of an efficient police system. So that it is probable that, soon after the foundation of the county, there was a succession, not only of sheriffs acting in the shire as deputy for the ealdormen and earls, but also a succession of local heads of the Hundreds. But we only catch the name of just one sheriff. According to the monks of Worcester, Evic or Eirc was sheriff of Staffordshire in 1016; though it is possible that he was sheriff of several counties, and not alone of Staffordshire. (*Vict. Co. Hist. Worcester*, Art. by J. H. Round, p. 239.)

It would be out of place in this article to deal in any detail with the men who really ruled Staffordshire in these years. They are nearly all to be found in the *Dict. Nat. Biog.* under their own names—Penda (626–655), Wulfhere (658–675), Ethelbald (716–757), Offa (757–796), Burhred, the under-king who married Alfred's sister and was driven out by the Danes (852–874), Ethelred, the ealdorman who married Alfred's daughter (880–911), Æthelfleda herself, "the Lady of the Mercians" (890–918), Ælfhere, the great ealdorman of Mercia (956–983), Ælfric "Child" his son, banished 985, Wulfric Spot (c. 994–c. 1006), Edric Streona, the son-in-law of King Ethelred the Unready, ealdorman under Ethelred and jarl under Cnut (1007–1017), Leofwine, earl of Mercia (1017–1024/32), Leofric his son, who died at Kings Bromley, sometimes called "earl of Chester," in which city he made his headquarters (1024/32–1057), Ælfgar his son (the *Comes Algarus* of Domesday), earl of East Anglia 1051–2, 1053–5, 1055–62, earl of Mercia (1057–1062), who gave Lapley to St. Remy of Rheims and left by Ælfgifu his wife two sons, Edwin and Morcar, famous in history.

Mr. Bridgeman shows elsewhere in this volume that in many points the *Dict. Nat. Biog.* may be corrected and supplemented—as to Ælfhere and Ælfric "Child," as to Leofwine's parentage, and particularly as to the position of Wulfric Spot during the interregnum between the time of Ælfric "Child" and Edric Streona. But the point I would make is that throughout (whether the ealdorman or earl ruled a large Mercia of the old sort embracing London and Oxford and Gloucester, or the smaller Mercia of Earl Leofric embracing only Cheshire, Salop, Staffordshire and North Wales), Staffordshire itself was the least

important part of the dominion, a backward waste county little ravaged or interested in the rise and fall of dynasties because of its position and character.

The best manors in the county belonged to the earl (an indication of the scarcity of the larger Saxon gentry), one-quarter as many belonged to the king, there were a few king's thegns towards the Manchester end of the county, and the Saxon landowners of Staffordshire were few and simple farmers when the Norman landed at Hastings. Doubtless for a hundred years before the Conquest most of the manors of the earl and king were managed by the sheriff, who combined the office of agent with that of administrator of justice. That the name of only one high-reeve or sheriff has survived shows that they aspired to be little more than the agents of the earl, holding office at his pleasure. The growth of the royal power after the Conquest, both relatively and positively, was reflected in the increase of the power and position of the sheriffs who proceeded to rule the county of Stafford for two hundred years after the Conquest.

A word may here be said as to the ecclesiastical history of Staffordshire in Saxon times. The lands of the bishopric may have been granted out any time after the foundation of Lichfield, 671. But as the endowment of Worcester took place in the period 710-957, I do not put the endowment of Lichfield much before the time of Offa (755-796), or indeed much after that time when Lichfield ceased to be an archbishopric and Mercia ceased to be a settled kingdom. We have no guide from any charter.

Wolverhampton was endowed in 994, Burton a decade later. There was some religious house at Tamworth in 1004. The grant of Wulfgeat (p. 119) seems to indicate that Penkridge was founded by *c.* 1006. The other endowed Collegiate Churches—Gnosall, Stafford, Tettenhall—date from the time of the Confessor; indeed, Tettenhall at least seems to have been the Conqueror's foundation. Evidence, other than unsubstantial legend, as to the existence of religious houses at Stone or Trentham is entirely wanting. Other churches there certainly were before the Conqueror came, but they were few and poor. I deal with them later. The parishes with which they were connected were undefined and by no means covered the area of the county. The priests were half missionary, half farmer.

To sum up, therefore, I think that the district known after 800 A.D. as Offlow was settled from Warwickshire and Derbyshire between 671 and 800. That about the same time or a little later Seisdon and Cuttlestone and South Pirehill were colonized rather than conquered from Worcestershire and Salop, from the land of the Hwicci. That between 820 and 911 the hides in this district were grouped into four Hundreds under the Mercian ealdormen; that within the period 919 and 956 the county of Stafford was collected round the Burgh of Stafford founded in 913. I think that this part of England was the last, or almost the last, to be occupied by the Anglo-Saxon; that only 500 hides were settled there, and that consequently a large proportion of the population was native Celt, a three times larger proportion than in Worcester or Warwick, if we may judge settlers by hidage. The earl was the only great landlord, and the only Burghs were Stafford, Tamworth, and Bridgnorth. The county suffered little by raid or conquest, but for natural reasons it was poor, sterile, and very thinly inhabited.

THE DOMESDAY SURVEY OF STAFFORDSHIRE.

We now come to the fixed point from which all local history works, either forward or backward. The detailed Survey made in 1086 and embodied in Domesday Book is the basis of research. Maitland has shown us how to use it to discover the history of the country in times long before the Survey was ever thought of,—to argue from the known to the unknown.

It is now thirty-six years since Eyton published his *Analysis and Digest of the Staffordshire Survey*. During these years the publications of the Record Office and of the William Salt Society have brought much fresh material to light; while the constructive genius of Prof. Maitland has laid down methods of using Domesday for the study of the past of which Eyton knew nothing. Moreover the *Victoria County Histories* now enable comparisons to be made between the Surveys of most of the counties with an ease that was unknown to an earlier generation of students.

Let us first make our *Analysis and Digest* of the Stafford-

shire Domesday as finished and complete as possible,—clearing the ground where it can be done. There will be still enough guesswork left to do. Eyton made some mistakes and left many places unidentified. These corrections and identifications must be made before use is made of the Survey.

Totmonslow Hundred.

Witestone, which Eyton called tentatively Whiston in Kingsley in Totmonslow, has been shown by General Wrottesley to be Whiston in Penkridge in Cuttlestone Hundred.

Niwetone and *Lufamesles*, which Eyton thought were obsolete and must have lain between Checkley and Forsbrook, are almost certainly Newton in Draycot-le-Moors, and Painsley in the same parish, the prefix of the second name being either the French “le,” or else a syllable that was subsequently elided.

Bughale j virgata terrae quae pertinet ad Halstone. Eyton could not solve this. General Wrottesley has shown me that this “appurtenance” was really “Rugehale” or Rownall. In Rownall there were two manors: one, held by the king, in waste; the other by Robert de Stafford, “appurtenant to his manor of Halstone”; but both were held *T.R.E.* by one man,—Ulmar (*anglice* Wulfmar). “Halstone” is the real difficulty. It is true the lord of Stafford held Ellaston in this Hundred, but it was written and must have been pronounced at that time “Edelachestone,”—nothing that could be corrupted into “Halstone.” He also held Alstone in Bradley in Cuttlestone Hundred; this Alstone was only a vill, not a manor to which anything could be appurtenant. Among the “Foreign Rents” of Alton, which occur so frequently in the Inquisitions *post mortem* of the Verdon Barons in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, appear rents coming from,—Caverswall, Ipstones, Rownall, Onecote, Newbold, Cunsall, Kingsley, Stanton, Caldron Grange, Lockwood, “Rudeheye,” and “Pekston.” Many of these were in 1086 waste manors of the king’s in Totmonslow Hundred, the hidation of which I discuss on p. 151. “Bughale” is Rownall, and I have no doubt that “Halstone” is Alton, called Alvetone elsewhere in the Survey. Alton or Alvetone is in the Hundred of Totmonslow, held by the king, waste in Domesday, and granted out with many another waste Totmonslow manor to the

Verdon barons before 1150 (*Staff. Cols.*, 1913, p. 13). Horton in Totmonslow I believe to have been waste in 1086, and attached doubtfully to either Endon or Leek in Totmonslow. In any case it was not "Halstone," as I once thought.

Waterfal.—In the Survey of the Lands of Burton Abbey, dated about 1125, the hides of the various manors are given. All coincide with the Domesday hidation except that Waterfal appears assessed at 2 bovates (1 virgate). Where nine manors are correctly given I think we are justified in assuming that the hidation of Waterfal is correct also, and that it was accidentally dropped out of the Domesday Survey. We may add to the list in Domesday,—Waterfal, waste if you like, *terra est ii bov.*¹

Pirehill Hundred.

Hetone, an escheated thegnland, was left unidentified by Eyton. It comes immediately after *Scelfitone*, which he identified as Shelton in Stoke-on-Trent, and after Mess, which is undoubtedly Mill Meece. *Hetone* and *Scelfitone* were both held *T.R.E.* by Alviet. I have no doubt they are really Shelton-under-Harley and Hatton, now side by side in Swynnerton. They were waste in 1086 and might well have been colonized from and annexed to the prosperous adjacent manor.

Dorveslau, in Eccleshall undoubtedly, cannot now be found on the map; but it comes in so frequently in the early deeds and under such persistent forms of spelling that one can almost certainly say that there was till recently a place called Dorslow in or near to Sugnall in Eccleshall.

Scoteslei, called by Eyton "obsolete near Colwich," can I think be identified with Coley in that parish. The transformation is in accordance with all the laws of euphony.

Haswic, obsolete, but which Eyton, following Erdeswick, insisted on putting near Newcastle, has really vanished into Kinver Forest. Erdeswick clearly mistook it for Hanchurch. There was no royal forest near Newcastle capable of swallowing

¹ Waterfal was acquired by Burton Abbey between the dates of the two surveys (*i.e.*, *c.* 1115–*c.* 1125). In the latter survey it is described as the gift of Aschetillus dispensator, *i.e.*, Ansketyl, founder of the great House of Despencer, who had some interest in Alstonefield.

a manor of five hides. Nor indeed were there any such things as five-hide manors in these barren northern districts. Haswic, "Eswecha" in 994, was held before and after the Conquest by the Canons of Wolverhampton, and lay in Seisdon by the Stour and Smestow, where Ashwood now is.

Cobintone.—Eyton was wrong also in identifying this manor of two hides with Pantulf's manor of Kibblestone in Pirehill. Kibblestone was formed in the twelfth century from a conglomeration of Pantulf's manors of Moddershall, Cotwalton and others. Just as some Staffordshire manors are entered erroneously in Domesday under Warwickshire, so under Staffordshire appears the Warwickshire manor of Cubbington. Cobintone should be transferred to that county, where it lies among a number of other manors of Rainald of Bailleul, of similar size and described in the same wording.

Bradellie was unidentified by Eyton. General Wrottesley thought it was Bagots Bromley (*Staff. Cols.*, XI, N.S., p. 11), but his reasons for the guess are not as good as those which identify it with Bradley Green in Burslem. "Bradellie" was held *T.R.E.* by Ulviet and Alward. It is listed between Hilderstone and Colton. But Hulton and Rushton Grange, both in Burslem, were held *T.R.E.* by Ulviet, Burslem itself was held by Alward, and Norton-le-Moors next door was held by Godric and Ulviet. All these villis or manors were part of the fee of Robert de Stafford *T.R.W.*, and after the Conquest they were all held of him by these same small thanes. In the succeeding centuries the name Bradley drops out, exactly as does that of the neighbouring Thursfield; but both Bradley and Thursfield are still to be found on the map.

Cuttlestone Hundred.

Hocintune.—It is called "Ocgintun" in Wulfruna's grant of 994, where the bounds are given. Ockington has been corrupted into Ogley Hay. It must be transferred to Offlow Hundred.

Iltone.—This Eyton identified with Hilton by Fetherstone. Mr. Bridgeman has shown in this volume that it is really Hilton, just east of Ogley Hay and in Offlow Hundred.

Bernertone, obsolete according to Eyton, is obviously Barton in Bradley by Stafford.

Ruscote, somewhere near Blymhill, according to Eyton. At one time I thought this might be connected with Rosecroft Lane in Haughton; but I incline now to the Rev. E. Bridgeman's view that it is really Brockhurst in Blymhill.

Monetvile, left unidentified by Eyton, has been shown by Mr. Fowler Carter to be *Monetae Villa*,—the vill attached to the Mint in Stafford (*Staff. Cols.*, XI, N.S., p. 225).

Estendone, unidentified, Richard the Forester's one-hide manor in Cuttlestone, is probably represented by Standon House in Haughton. It was waste and would naturally be swallowed up in the holding of such powerful tenants as those who held Haughton of the Stafford Barony.

Offlow Hundred.

Burouestone and *Litelbeck* are both left by Eyton unidentified near Weeford and Lichfield. Obsolete they undoubtedly are, but I think we may see some trace of the former in Borrowcop Hill near Lichfield. The Little Beck as a place-name has undoubtedly gone, but it is the sort of name that would vanish to make way for something more distinctive.

Burton-on-Trent.—Eyton thought that Burton was not surveyed at all. The Register of Burton Abbey, now printed, gives a copy of the original Return, and it appears that those two teamlands (1½ hides) which Burton Abbey was supposed to hold in Stafford town were really held in "*Staffordsire*." The copying clerks, in entering up Domesday, had missed out the "*sire*," and entered the land under Stafford instead of under Burton-on-Trent (*Staff. Cols.*, V. i., p. 3).

Seisdon Hundred.

Cocretone, *Cocortone*.—This pair of villis, left unidentified by Eyton, may now I think be surely connected with Crockington Lane between Trysull and Seisdon.

Cippemore should, according to Eyton, be somewhere within reach of Kinver Forest. The map shows a *Combere* close by Kinver. It is not impossible that this is *Cippemore*. *Copmore* changes easily into *Comber* by metathesis.

Cote, called by Eyton "obsolete, near Penn." For some time I thought that this might be connected with Cote Lane in Enville. But Mr. Bridgeman shows in this volume that it is in reality Trescot in Wrottesley, adjoining Little Penn (see *ante*, p. 105).

Catspelle.—General Wrottesley has shown that this is not Gospel End, but Chacepool in Swindon (*Staff. Cols.*, XI, p. 253). Places such as Gospel End, Gospel Oak, etc., are generally associated with the bounds of a Manor. When beating the bounds halts were made at certain places, and there, according to Mr. Duignan, passages of scripture were read. We may be fairly sure that there was little beating of the bounds or reading of the Gospel on the heath before the Conquest, while there was still land enough to go round, and no need to worry about boundaries.

The net result on the Tables published by Eyton is,—

Totmonslow loses Whiston, 1 hide, and gains Waterfall, 2 bovates.

Pirehill loses Ashwic and Cobintone, 7 hides, and the hide and a half in Stafford belonging to Burton Abbey.

Cuttlestone loses Hocintune, 1 hide, and Iltone, 3 virgates, and gains Whiston, 1 hide.

Offlow gains Hocintune, 1 hide, Iltone, 3 virgates, and Burton, 1½ hide. (Eyton, in his corrections to his Table, struck out Draitone, 5 hides, and added Bromwic, 3 hides.)

Seisdon gains Ashwic, 5 hides.

Before proceeding to make any use of the Domesday Survey we must glance at certain topographical omissions from the Record. Tamworth and Bridgnorth are left out altogether, though it is permissible to suppose that the enormous hidation and value of the manor of Worfield was at least in part due to the Burgh of Bridgnorth. They were boundary Burghs, the castles at least being erected subsequent to the hidation of the Hundreds, so that they were no more hidated than was Stafford. That they escaped the other attentions of the Commissioners was perhaps due to their being Royal Burghs.

Rowley Regis, the appanage of Clent in Worcestershire, is omitted from both Staffordshire and Worcestershire. It was ecclesiastically in Worcestershire. I think Clent and Broom

and Rowley Regis were in Worcestershire administratively also till the reign of Henry I.

Walsall, Hanbury, Colwich, Stowe, Tatenhill, Stone, receive no notice whatever in the Survey; Stoke, Cheadle, Uttoxeter, receive an incidental reference and inadequate hidation. These were great ecclesiastical parishes, and I have no doubt whatever that they existed at Domesday, though priests are only mentioned at Walton (for Stone), at Heywood (for Colwich), at Fauld (for Hanbury), and nothing whatever is indicated to show there were priests at Stoke, Walsall, Tatenhill, Cheadle, Uttoxeter or Stowe. Domesday had of course nothing to do with ecclesiastical matters, but one would expect manors to bear the names of the parishes. That they did so in many, perhaps most, cases is evident. But it was not always so. The parish seems in these nine cases to have been imposed on top of a system of manors. Domesday dealt with the manors, and sometimes indicates in an accidental way that a church system was co-existing.

Take the case of Walsall. We read that,—“in Bescot there is one *caruc.* of land waste; Wednesbury with appurtenances are 3 hides; Bloxwich and Shelfield belong to Wednesbury and are 1 hide.” Now Bloxwich and Shelfield are the other side of Walsall to Wednesbury; Bescot is between Walsall and Wednesbury; in the Middle Ages Wednesbury was just a chapel of Walsall. I believe these three entries not only make up a five-hide unit, but also cover exactly the parish of Walsall, which is not itself mentioned.

Uttoxeter and Cheadle are indeed just mentioned in the Survey (though I am not absolutely certain as to Cheadle). But see how Uttoxeter is mentioned. Uttoxeter is a big parish even now; when it included Loxley besides Stramshall, Creighton, and Crakemarsh it was some 10,000 acres. Domesday tells us of them,—Loxley, 1 virgate, 4 teamlands, 0 team, valued at £1. Crakemarsh, 2 virgates, 6 teamlands, 2 teams and a mill, valued at 6s. Stramshall, 1 virgate, 2 teamlands, 1 team, valued at 5s. Uttoxeter, 2 virgates (like the rest), but 10 teamlands, 13 teams, and valued, not in shillings, but at £8.

I suggest that the old manors were Loxley, Crakemarsh,

Stramshall, and perhaps Uttoxeter, but that the parish centred at and was called Uttoxeter.

Or take the case of Cheadle in Totmonslow. I follow Eyton and assume that "Cedla" is Checkley, and that "Celle" is Cheadle (though I am not convinced that this last is not Chell in Pirehill). Then Domesday tells us that, Kingsley is 4 hides, 4 teamlands, $2\frac{1}{2}$ teams, valued at 27*s.*; and that Cheadle is 1 virgate (a sixteen times smaller manor) with the same number of teamlands and teams as Kingsley and worth 20*s.* In the whole of Totmonslow there is not another manor of so much as 4 hides like this Kingsley, subsequently a most unimportant manor. There is no other manor of even 2 hides, except Bradley-en-le-Moors, on the other flank of Cheadle, and yet they call Cheadle 1 virgate. Although there is no parson mentioned at Kingsley or Bradley or Cheadle, I believe there was a church and parson at Cheadle in 1086. I suggest that Cheadle parish included the manor of Kingsley and the manor, if it was a manor, of Cheadle; that when the church was built a virgate was cut out of Kingsley and called Cheadle.

Indeed I think it possible to assume that there was something in the nature of a town not only at Cheadle, Uttoxeter, Walsall, Stone and Stoke, but also at Wolverhampton, Penkridge, Gnosall, Eccleshall, Leek, and Burton. Though any indication of townsmen is only found in Domesday at Stafford, Tutbury, and Tamworth.

Special attention must be drawn to the unhidated part of the waste Totmonslow Moorlands. Grendon in the Moors is hidated at $1\frac{1}{3}$ virgates. Seventeen manors round Grendon were waste and are unhidated, but their "carucage" is given. I use the hidation of Grendon ($\frac{1}{3}$ of a hide) to prove that there must have been two other manors near by, also $\frac{1}{3}$ of a hide. Possibly, therefore, all these waste manors were hidated and the hides not recorded. If the "carucage" given represented teamlands, one might arrive at an estimate of the hidage by allowing the same ratio between hide and team there as elsewhere in Staffordshire. But, unfortunately, as I have previously indicated (p. 150), one is not certain that the carucage of these manors is not a relic of Danish tenure.

THE WASTING OF STAFFORDSHIRE AT THE CONQUEST.

Now with the corrected Survey before us there are several points in it which will repay attention. We are accustomed to be told that the poverty of Staffordshire, the wastage of Staffordshire, in the year 1086, was due to a ravaging by the Conqueror in 1071. The historians make out that he passed through the county with fire and sword. To one who has seen the same sort of thing tried in South Africa and East Africa, and knows how difficult ravaging is to do in such a thinly settled country, this army wasting has always seemed a curious explanation of the condition of Staffordshire in 1086. Is it to be supposed that William I. selected the moorlands to ravage, or even to pass through, where there are no roads?

See where the wasted manors lie. All over the county, about one-half being royal manors, and most of the others church lands. If we take the teamlands wasted we see that the waste is distributed as follows:—In Totmonslow 17 per cent. of the teamlands are wasted; in North Pirehill, 16 per cent.; in South Pirehill, 8 per cent.; in Cuttlestone, 4 per cent.; in Seisdon, 6 per cent.; in Offlow, 7 per cent.; 8 per cent. in the whole of Staffordshire.

As for the proportion lying waste, it is just about the same as in Derby or Salop at the same date. The *Victoria County History* tells us that in Derbyshire 10 per cent. of the manors were waste; that in Salop 119 hides out of 1438 were in the same condition, that is $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

From these figures alone, without taking the trouble to study the waste in detail, we can estimate that a waste manor is probably one that has fallen out of cultivation because it did not pay to cultivate. No doubt the population of Staffordshire declined by reason of the Conquest, but famine would have accounted for the same wasting. As population declines cultivation recedes; as population grows so the wastes are taken up and boundary disputes grow. The moorlands would naturally be the first to fall out of cultivation and to be deserted by inhabitants—just as they would be the last to be ravaged. So we see the waste in Totmonslow and North Pirehill, while farther south

the forest land of Kinver contributes its share to the retrogression in Seisdon.

Leaving teamlands for a moment and turning to hides (the teamland of an earlier period), we find the total waste in 1086 amounted to about $36\frac{1}{2}$ hides of land, $16\frac{1}{2}$ being Royal Manors. Forty years later the Pipe Roll of 1130 shows that the Royal Manors then waste in the county amounted to 15 hides. Another later and more expressive figure is got from the Pipe Roll of 1155, after the anarchy of war between King Stephen and Randle, earl of Chester. The total waste in 1155 was 88 hides of land, and this was in the smaller county, after the secession of the Bridgnorth area, so that 20 per cent. of the hides were then naked in Staffordshire, something far more serious than the 8 per cent. of the Domesday Survey.

Without hesitation I say, then, that the wastes were those manors that had dropped below the margin of cultivation, and that the county generally was not much above the margin. This was only partly due to the poverty of the soil. It arose also from the inaccessibility of the county, the lateness of its settlement, and the paucity of its population.

One word, too, about the woodlands with which Domesday so plentifully stocks the county in square leagues. Eyton always takes these leagues to be $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles each. More recently Mr. Horace Round has proved conclusively that the Domesday league was only half a mile, and so Eyton's mathematical exercises fall to the ground.

THE FIVE-HIDE UNIT.

I pass from the wastes and forests to another pointer lying concealed in the great survey. Mr. Horace Round has made the five-hide unit both a test of Anglo-Saxon organization, and a proof that assessment was first laid on the Hundred and then allocated by hides to the manors therein. This five-hide unit is to be found in all the surrounding Saxon counties. In the counties of the Danish settlement a six-carucate unit seems to take its place, though Derbyshire is so badly surveyed that even the most constructive searcher is helpless. With this in mind, we look for the five-hide unit in Staffordshire.

I will set out all traces that I can find without wrenching boundaries or hidating unmeasured wastes.

Offlow Hundred.

Clifton Camvill, Harlaston, Thorpe Constantine	10 hides.
Elford, and Oakley in Croxall	5 "
Barton-under-Needwood, Dunstall, Wichnor	5 "
Wednesfield 5, Willenhall 5, and Walsall 5	15 "
Lichfield with appurtenances is given as	25 $\frac{3}{4}$ hides.

Seisdon Hundred.

Wolverhampton, Bilston, Etingshall	5 hides.
Oaken in Tettenhall	5 "
Kings Swinford	5 "
Pattingham, Patshull	5 "
Rudge	5 "
Wambourne, Oretton, Swindon	10 "
Seisdon	5 "
Bobbington	5 "
Morfe in Enville	5 "
Enville, Kinfare, Arley (including Morfe, "Cippemore" and Chasepool)	20 "
Ashwood	5 "
Claverley	20 "
Worfield	30 "
Quatt, Romesley, Shipley	5 "

or, 130 hides out of 171 $\frac{1}{2}$ are clearly grouped.

Cuttlestone Hundred.

Baswich, Bednall, Brockton, Acton	5 hides.
Brewood, without Chillington or Coven	5 "
Weston-under-Lizard, Beighterton, Brockton Grange and Blymhill	5 "
Haughton, Standon-in-Haughton	5 "
Norbury, Weston Jones, Loynton	5 "

One might make anything out of the 38 hides which can be included in Penkridge, or out of the 12 $\frac{1}{4}$ which can be put into its partner Gnosall, or out of the 16 which might go to make up

Bradley. There are too many small vills in Cuttlestone and the manor boundaries too doubtful to give any certainty to any five-hide units except those given above.

Pirehill S. Hundred.

Chebsey, 5 hides.

Pirehill N. Hundred.

Nil.

Totmonslow Hundred.

Nil.

Therefore the hunt for the five-hide unit in Staffordshire has produced in Offlow Hundred a group of 15 hides arranged by fives in that extreme eastern horn of Staffordshire which projects into Leicester and Warwick. North of Stafford town but one single example of the five-hide unit is to be found. But Cuttlestone possibly, and Seisdon certainly, are full of the usual unit and show the manors thrown into the regular groups for assessment purposes. Wednesfield, Walsall and Willenhall in Offlow are adjacent to the Seisdon Hundred, and grouped in five hides. In a word, the south is hidated in five-hide units, the north is not. According to Prof. Tait there is exactly the same difference between North and South Salop (*Victoria County History*), the five-hide unit being common in the south (*i.e.*, alongside Cuttlestone and Seisdon), and absent altogether in the north. The Hundreds, parts of which lay south of Watling Street, were largely grouped in five-hide units. If we suppose that the peace of 884 left to King Alfred, not exactly the land south of Watling Street, but the whole of Offlow and Cuttlestone Hundreds, this would support Dr. Reid's theory that the allotting of the hides to the Hundreds (if not the creation of the Hundred) took place 878-911.

There is no trace of a six-carucate unit at all, however, anywhere in Staffordshire. If the Saxons did not settle and tax north of the three Hundreds, the Danes do not seem to have done so either.

In any case, whether from the extent of the wastes, or from the low figure of the hidation, or from the predominant interest shown by Mercian kings in Essex and Oxford and even Lindsay,

or from the silence of charters, or from the absence of religious houses, or from the mere place of Staffordshire on the map, I conclude that Staffordshire was about the last Anglicized part of England, as late at least as Cornwall. Further, I do not think that the Hundreds of Totmonslow and Pirehill formed part of Saxon England during the period 884-910.

STATISTICS OF DOMESDAY.

The Hundreds of Staffordshire, unlike those of the adjoining Shropshire, Derbyshire and Worcestershire, have retained their Domesday names and mutual boundaries. Owing to this Eyton was able to correct and restore the Domesday rubrications. We may be pretty certain of our Hundreds and of the manors in them. With certain exceptions, due either to manors in waste or to the Danish carucate in Totmonslow, we can fill our Hundreds with their correct hides, teamlands, teams, "*valets*," and recorded population. The "*valuits*" are only given, unfortunately, in the case of the large manors; and the "*posts*" never, except in the case of the Burton Abbey manors. I do not believe that there is any county in England in which this allocation can be done with anything approaching the same accuracy as in Staffordshire.

It should be made quite clear that the Hundreds and County to be dealt with are the Staffordshire of 1086, not the present smaller county. In 1086 Staffordshire and Seisdon Hundred embraced 31,000 acres of modern Salop. The Severn was the western boundary, corresponding with the Tame on the east; Bridgnorth was the border Burgh corresponding to Tamworth. Map I shows all this more exactly.

We can now analyse the material supplied by Domesday in tabular form. In the following Table I (which follows the same lines as the Table I given by Maitland) the area in statute acres is the area of the Hundred, taken parish by parish from the Census of 1811; the "Recorded Population" is the total of tenants, priests, freemen, burgesses, villeins, cottars, serfs, etc. Maitland suggests that this figure should be multiplied by five to give an estimate of the real population (*Domesday Book and*

Beyond, p. 437). The hides are those actually recorded, with such adjustment and addition as is explained in the footnotes to meet what Eyton used to call "quasi-hides" wherever the hidage is not recorded. The teamlands state with the same qualifications the "*terra est*"; the teams are the "*ibi sunt*." The "*valets*" require rather more guesswork, but not enough to affect the broad comparisons that the table will ultimately supply. For reasons which will appear, I have divided Pirehill into north and south by a line which leaves Barlaston, Swynner-ton, Standon, Maer, Ashley, Cheswardine to the north; while the great areas of Stone and Eccleshall are thrown into the south.

The figures for the other counties are taken from Maitland (*Domesday and Beyond*, p. 400), except that the figures for Salop and Worcester have been amended in part from the *Victoria County History* of those counties.

The first thing that strikes our attention in looking at this table is the position of Staffordshire relative to the other counties. The population is less dense than even in Cornwall or Devon. Cheshire, with its very uncertain boundaries and incomplete survey, is no guide to a comparison. Derbyshire would seem to approach Staffordshire most nearly in nakedness, but the survey is bad there too. Or compare the hides at which Staffordshire is assessed,—a relic of the old taxable capacity. Cornwall alone has fewer hides—had fewer when hides were first apportioned. But even Cornwall had become by 1086 more valuable and populous than Staffordshire, which for its size is the least valuable of all the counties.

There is one notable distinction between Staffordshire and at least two other lately settled counties. *Nativi* (slaves) and *ancillæ* (bondswomen) are few—some 3 per cent.—in Staffordshire, while in Salop they constitute 20 per cent. of the recorded population, and in Cornwall 21 per cent. I do not think this can be because the Britons retired altogether from Staffordshire to the west. It may possibly be the result of Penda's policy of conciliation and alliance. It is more probably a change in the fashion of entering up the different classes in Domesday; they may not have counted slaves in the Staffordshire Survey, or they may have classed many as *bordarii* (cottars).

TABLE I.

	Acreage.	Recorded population.	Hides.	Teamlands.	Teams.	"Valet."
Offlow	175,000	768	121 $\frac{3}{4}$ ¹	270 $\frac{1}{2}$	266	£ 139
Seisdon	113,000	674	171 $\frac{1}{2}$ ²	285 $\frac{1}{2}$	247	100
Cuttlestone ...	111,000	697	120 $\frac{3}{4}$	284	224 $\frac{1}{2}$	70
Pirehill (N.) ...	96,000	237	30 ⁴	131	74 $\frac{3}{4}$	41
" (S.)	113,000	627	56 ⁵	269	182 $\frac{1}{2}$	73
Totmonslow ...	171,000	318	22 ⁶	154 $\frac{1}{2}$	92	50
Stafford Burgh ...	Nil	128	0	0	0	7
Staffordshire ...	779,000	3449	521 $\frac{1}{4}$	1394 $\frac{1}{2}$	1086 $\frac{1}{2}$	480
Cornwall	868,000	5438	399	2377	1187	662
Devonshire ...	1,667,000	17434	1119	7972	5542	3221
Cheshire	655,000	2349	512	?	?	?
Derbyshire... ..	657,000	3041	679	762	862	461
Shropshire... ..	830,000	5162	1438	3173	1755	?
Worcestershire ...	480,000	5053	1189	?	1889	991
Warwickshire ...	579,000	6574	1338	2276	2003	1360
Leicestershire ...	529,000	6772	2500 [?]	?	1817	736
Oxfordshire	485,000	6775	2412	2639	2467	3242
Norfolk	1,315,000	27087	2422	?	4853	4155

¹ If one counts up the hides in Offlow they come to 121 $\frac{3}{4}$. This allows nothing for Tamworth, and assumes that Harbourne, Smethwick, and Tipton were really included in the 25 $\frac{3}{4}$ hides of Lichfield.

² 171 $\frac{1}{2}$ hides is the actual total, and allows nothing for Bridgnorth or for Rowley Regis.

³ 118 hides 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ virgates is the actual total. But there is a Danish carucate instead of a hide recorded against part of Cannock. We may call the total 120 hides.

⁴ The recorded hides are 30. This allows nothing for the supposed carucate at Stoke discussed elsewhere. Nor does it allow anything for the hidage of Knighton in Muccllestone. I think Knighton is already included in Muccllestone's hide.

⁵ The recorded total is 54 $\frac{1}{2}$ hides. But there is a Danish carucate at Bishton to add. All the members of Eccleshall, even including Seighford, which, by analogy with Chebsey, I should have put down at 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ hides, are left at the 7 hides recorded. We may call the total 56 hides.

⁶ The recorded total is 18 hides 2 $\frac{3}{8}$ virgates. But 17 waste manors are unhidated. The teamlands (or teams, or indeed Danish carucates?) for these unhidated manors total 23. Taking the whole of the Hundred the ratio of teamlands to hides gives us a ratio for the unhidated; thus we may add 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ virgates to the hidage for the unhidated manors. Call the total 22 hides.

Professor Maitland has shown that the hide represented not only the original basis of assessment, but also the holding of one family, say the 120 acres of arable land. As this basis of assessment became obsolete, whether through intenser settlement or through famine or emigration, another basis took its place. This was the "teamland." When they asked about the teamlands the Domesday Commissioners asked an understood question: they did not require an answer to a question more hypothetical than the "posers" set to the modern landlord by the Finance Act of 1910. They asked, "How many teamlands are there?" It is a question to which they got very definite answers, at least outside the old Danelaw. If the hides represented the relative prosperity in A.D. 900, then the teamlands represent the same in, say, A.D. 1000. And if the "valets" were truly given they should represent the relative prosperity similarly in 1086. But if the "valets" had been given correctly the ratio population to "valet" should be constant throughout England. It is not: the ratio of population to team is much more constant; and we may judge accordingly that the population and team is much more correctly set down in the Survey. They asked, "How many teams are there actually in stock?"—a question of fact, not an estimate of value—and got in that way a trustworthy estimate of the prosperity in 1086.

In Staffordshire in 1086 there was something over three families to a team, and the variation was slight from Hundred to Hundred. They were somewhat richer in Worcester and Oxford (or the population was more carelessly counted there); they were somewhat poorer in Derby, Leicester, and Norfolk (or the population was more exhaustively counted in those counties).

Table II shows also that if the 1086 population be divided by the old teamland of A.D. 1000 the moorlands must have declined in population 1000-86. The whole county seems to have declined in population between 1000 and 1086, but the moorlands most of all. The population, when the teamland was a true measure with three families to the team, say in A.D. 1000, must have been 25 per cent. greater than in 1086, measured by the stock in the county. If we take the column showing acreage divided by team, Staffordshire, Cornwall and Derbyshire are in a wild class by themselves with over 700 acres to the

TABLE II.

Hundred.	Acreege divided by population.	Acreege divided by teamlands.	Acreege divided by teams.	Population divided by teamlands.	Population divided by teams.	Population divided by "Valet."	Teamlands divided by teams.	Total "Valet" divided by teamlands.	Experimental "Valet" of teamland; by selected samples.
Offlow ...	231	652	668	2.8	2.9	5.5	1.03	0 10 6	0 10 5
Seisdon	167	396	458	2.3	2.8	6.7	1.15	0 7 4	0 7 4
Cuttlestone	158	389	490	2.4	3.1	9.9	1.26	0 5 0	0 6 2
Pirehill (N.)	405	733	1287	1.7	3.2	5.8	1.76	0 6 6	0 10 7
" (S.)	180	402	612	2.3	3.4	8.6	1.46	0 5 9	0 9 0
Totmonslow ...	538	1170	1859	2.1	3.4	6.3	1.68	0 6 6	0 10 0
Staffs ...	235	561	717	2.4	3.1	7.2	1.29	0 7 1	0 3 9
Cornwall	159	365	731	2.2	4.5	8.2	2.00	0 5 6	0 3 8
Devonshire	95	209	300	2.1	3.1	5.4	1.43	0 8 0	0 5 3
Cheshire	278	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
Derbyshire	216	862	762	3.9	3.5	6.5	0.88	0 12 1	0 11 7
Salop ...	166	270	489	1.7	2.8	?	1.7	?	0 7 2
Worcester	103	254	254	2.8	2.4	5.1	?	0 10 5	0 10 7
Warwick	88	254	288	2.8	3.2	4.8	1.13	0 11 11	0 10 10
Leicester	78	291	291	?	3.7	9.2	?	?	0 9 8
Oxford	71	183	196	2.5	2.7	2.1	1.06	1 4 6	1 0 8
Norfolk	48	?	270	?	4.0	6.5	?	0 17 1	?

team ; while Worcester, Warwick and Leicester run about 270 acres to the team. This gives a clear indication of the amount of waste and forest in the Staffordshire of 1086, and it will be observed that in Totmonslow the acreage runs up to 1859 acres per team. Only Seisdon and Cuttlestone Hundreds are comparable even with Salop.

It should be noticed that the ratios for Offlow Hundred are slightly vitiated by the presence in the recorded population of the forty burgesses of Tutbury. Because the "valets" cannot be ascertained in every case and cannot be added accurately for a whole county, a column is added at the end of the table showing the "valet" of average teamlands. For this column sample manors of all sizes are taken where the values (valets) as well as the teamlands are clearly given. But even then the results do not inspire confidence in the financial accuracy of questioner or questioned. It is much easier to get at the truth when you ask about facts than about values which may be taxed.

Now all these columns bear witness to the desolate unsettledness of Totmonslow and North Pirehill. They are far worse than the extremities of Cornwall. Cuttlestone, and after it Seisdon and South Pirehill, approaches nearest to the condition of other counties. Even these three are not so prosperous as Warwick or Worcester shires: they are very like Salop in general conditions. They all three grow wilder, with small manors and great wastes as one moves over them to the east. They give the impression that they were colonized from the west and south-west, not from the east at all.

On the other hand, Offlow, a long strip of all the east of the county, including Walsall, Lichfield, Tamworth, Burton, bears the very greatest resemblance to Warwickshire. The people of Offlow came from the east till they were held up by the march of Needwood and Cannock.

Even these tables show that this part of England was the last, or almost the last, piece to be occupied by the Anglo-Saxons. When they came only 500 hides were settled here as against 1200 in Warwick or Worcester. It was the last settled and the most scantily settled, and consequently the proportion of Saxon to Celt was least considerable in the Staffordshire race.

THE NORMAN CONQUEST.

This period has already received so close a study, both from Eyton and General Wrottesley, that I shall not venture to tread in their footsteps by touching on the personnel of the Conquest. The Domesday Survey was taken twenty years after the Conquest; during those twenty years two-thirds of the arriere tenants, those, that is, that drew the rents and services and may have resided on their land in their farm house, had changed from Saxon or Dane to Norman French. Even of the remaining Saxons, in so many cases are the names changed between *T.R.E.* and *T.R.W.* that one must suspect violent faction among the Anglo-Saxons themselves. Those who supported the invaders seem to have been rewarded. On the other hand it is also possible that the change from one Saxon name to another may mean nothing more violent than the change from father to son.

Before the Conquest two-thirds of the large manors were the land of the Mercian earls; the king had half-a-dozen large manors; the Church of Lichfield four; only one solitary manor of so much as five hides (or 10 teamlands, or worth £5) was in private hands and the soke of that manor, Seisdon, was in the Crown. It is true that if we take all the Ulviets and Alviets that held land *T.R.E.* in Staffordshire and assume that they were all one and the same, we might construct a considerable Saxon landowner, but I see no reason for supposing that all the Toms were one.

The fact is that before the Conquest the men who held the land of Staffordshire were small people who tilled it themselves with the help of half a dozen villeins or cottars; sometimes they are described as free men, sometimes they had sake and soke, sometimes they were nearer the border line of villein and could not "withdraw" themselves or their land from king or earl. Those few specially styled thegns may have been in a slightly better position, and may have been imposed upon the land rather than sprung from it. Perhaps the king or earl made them, or wanted them as soldiers.

However that may be, when the Conquest came, these local landlord farmers were swept away. Those were lucky that were able to carry on the same work under a Norman lord and pay

him rent, to hold "*de eo.*" The names change so much *T.R.E.* to *T.R.W.* that one would almost imagine a great killing off. Of those who according to Domesday Survey held the soil directly in 1086 and are named as arrière tenants, two-thirds are Norman, one-third Saxon or Danish. In the succeeding fifty years even this remnant sank into villein, or rose to Christian names in Norman French.

But these Normans who came in as arrière tenants eventually tilled the soil themselves, like their predecessors. They may have been the progenitors of great knightly families but, themselves, they were the soldiery of the invasion, third cousin to a gentleman, bastards of the new nobility of Normandy. They were the retainers of the greater barons and rewarded by them. They may even have lived in the castles with their lords at first and drawn the rents as absentees from the soil.

The tenants in chief who lived in Staffordshire were—the bishop (and he in 1086 lived probably at Chester); the abbot of Burton; Samson the clerk, who may have lived at Wolverhampton but more probably followed the king's Court; Hugh de Montgomery, who may have lived at Worfield; Henry de Ferrers, who had Tutbury Castle; Robert de Stafford at Stafford Castle; William the son of Ansculf the sheriff of Surrey, of the great Picard House of Picquigny, who had Dudley Castle; Rainald of Bailleul, the sheriff of Shropshire, who may perhaps have lived at Sheriff Hales; and Nigel, who lived at Thorpe Constantine. We must not forget the sheriff, Nicholas, probably of Beauchamp, possibly seated at Chartley.

Here are ten Normans; probably Nicholas had some Frenchmen to help him to farm the royal manors, some sort of resident bailiff, but *Domesday Book* records nothing of the sort. The others, particularly those with castles—Stafford, Tutbury, Dudley—must have had some Norman retainers. It is only a question whether we do not find these retainers among those arrière tenants with Norman names that are entered as holding of them the various manors with which the Conqueror had endowed the lords.

The named retainer-tenants called by Norman names amount only to 64. This figure is obtained by carefully avoiding known duplication. If, say Azelin, held three manors and General

Wrottesley has told us that this is one and the same man, then that name has been only counted once; wherever there has been doubt I have called the same name a different man to swell the total. Besides these named tenants there were twelve Frenchmen mentioned at different places without names, and four soldiers called *miles* but without names; and, if they are worth reckoning, Lapley was held by two "men of St. Remy" who may have been French priests.

Therefore among a recorded population of 3449 families in Staffordshire 92 persons were Norman. Making the largest possible allowances for Frenchmen among the burgesses of Stafford, Tutbury and Tamworth; allowing the lords retainers on a modern scale; even then it is very doubtful if more than 300 Norman persons ever came and settled in Staffordshire.

Five hundred Saxon families came to Staffordshire and made perhaps 5 per cent. of the population of the county after their assimilation. But only 300 Norman persons came, and they came among 17,000 and were at most 2 per cent. of the resulting population. The Norman Conquest was territorial and administrative.

I can think of nothing modern comparable to this Conquest. The Normans had the weapons, the solidarity, and a terrible reputation. They were far beyond the Saxons in civilization—they were Cortes among the Mexicans, with the conquistatorial strut. Nothing else can explain the tame acceptance of conquest by what has become the proudest race on earth. I sometimes wonder whether the nearest parallel to the Norman Conquest of England is not the rule of the late King Leopold in the basin of the Congo. The Saxons were exploited and had no more rights or power than the niggers of the Congo. Fortunately they had the same colour as their masters.

EARLY PARISHES.

With the information now at our disposal we can come much nearer to deciding where there were churches and what were the parishes that existed in Staffordshire in 1086. All the churches are certainly not indicated by the mention of a priest. Places where there were collegiate churches are known of; lands of

a church are noted in Domesday; others we can surmise the existence of. By using the Papal Return of 1291 we can find what were the parishes at that date, and their wealth. Their wealth means, in nearly all cases, that we can check their old-standing—their pre-Domesday possibilities.

Of course it must not be assumed that there were parish boundaries in 1086. The whole of Staffordshire was not mapped out and divided out between the Domesday parishes. There were hinterlands; there were vast tracts that were as desolate as the Sahara. Any sort of map, such as that here given to show the sort of primitive ecclesiastical divisions, will consist of straight lines. I shall show presently that all Staffordshire as known at Domesday, including Cheswardine, all Sheriff Hales and the Bridgnorth area but excluding Tyrley, Rowley Regis, Broom, Clent and Dudley, was then comprised in the Archdeaconry or Deanery of Stafford, though no doubt the prebends of Lichfield even then were outside the jurisdiction of the archdeacon.

Passing then through Staffordshire, Hundred by Hundred, we may place churches and parishes at all at least of the following. I add the values in 1291.

Hundred of Pirehill.

	£	s.	d.
Wolstanton, priest mentioned	26	13	4
Stoke-on-Trent in Penkull, lands mentioned	40	0	0
Trentham, priest mentioned	13	6	8
Muclestone, priest mentioned	13	6	8
Stone in Walton, priest mentioned in Walton	40	0	0
Standon, priest mentioned	6	13	4
Chebsey, priest mentioned	13	6	8
Stafford, priests mentioned (collegiate church)	58	17	0
Colwich (prebend), priest mentioned in Gt. Hay-wood	26	13	4
Colton, priest mentioned			omitted in the 1291 Return.
Stowe in Chartley, presumed... ..	20	0	0
Blithfield, priest mentioned	12	0	0
Abbots Bromley, priest mentioned	33	6	8
Eccleshall (prebend), priest mentioned	66	13	4

The only other church given in 1291 as over £14 in value, and therefore likely to be of old foundation, is Audley, and

there were good reasons why that should have been founded after 1086.

Hundred of Cuttlestone.

	£	s.	d.
Penkridge (collegiate church)... ..	44	13	4
Gnosall, collegiate church	21	6	8
Norbury, 2 priests mentioned... ..	6	13	4
Church Eaton, priest mentioned	20	0	0
Sheriff Hales, priest mentioned	13	6	8
Brewood (prebend), priest mentioned	40	0	0
Baswick (prebend), priest mentioned	20	0	0

Bradley may have had a church. Its value in 1291 was £26 13s. 4d., which looked as though it were a parish of old establishment. But it was the Lord Stafford's chief manor, and may well have been separated off from Stafford and Castle Church after Domesday.

Hundred of Seisdon.

	£	s.	d.
Tettenhall, collegiate church with prebends	29	6	8
Pattingham, priest mentioned	18	13	4
Wolverhampton, collegiate church with prebends... ..	54	13	4
Sedgley, priest mentioned	8	0	0
Wombourne, priest mentioned	10	13	4
Kinver, priest mentioned	8	0	0
Alveley, priest mentioned	Probably called Quat in the 1291 Return		
Worfield, priest mentioned	33	6	8
Bridgnorth, church with members	54	13	4

I am doubtful whether there was not also a church at Arley. The Canons of Wolverhampton held it, or part of it, in fee, and the church there was worth £10 in 1291. Kings Swinford, a manor of ancient demesne, had a church worth £16 in 1291; and as there are five other manors similarly classified to which I am attributing a church—Penkridge, Walsall, Stowe, Leek, Uttoxeter—although no priest is mentioned in any of them, perhaps Kings Swinford should be added also.

Hundred of Offlow.

	£	s.	d.
Hanbury, priest mentioned under Fauld	33	6	8
Burton, abbey church	Not given		
Rolleston, priest mentioned	23	6	8
Clifton Camvill, priest mentioned	16	13	4
Alrewas (prebend), priest mentioned	20	0	0
Lichfield St. Chadds, church with prebends ...	Not given		
Tamworth St. Ediths, church with prebends ...	36	13	4
Walsall, church presumed	12	0	0

I believe there was also a church at Tatenhill (a church with chapel attached in 1291 worth £16 13s. 4d.), for Tatenhill does not appear in Domesday and is merely presumed under Barton—the church being again distinct from the great manor in which it lay. This ecclesiastical parish may have once included Burton as one may judge from the geographical position of Tatenhill Church. But no priest is mentioned in Barton or Burton, any more than one is for Cheadle, Uttoxeter, Chartley for Stowe, Walsall, or Penkhull for Stoke. Further, the prebend of Weeford was worth £33 6s. 8d., that of Freford £20, that of Longdon £20, in 1291, and there may have been a church at any of them, though their subsequent history and position would lead one to believe that there was not.

Hundred of Totmonslow.

	£	s.	d.
Leek, church presumed	28	0	0
Cheadle in Kingsley, church presumed	14	0	0
Uttoxeter in Crakemarsh, church presumed ...	33	6	8
Mayfield, priest mentioned	16	13	4
Ilam, church presumed	8	0	0

There may have been also a church at Leigh (value in 1291 £16 13s. 4d.); there was certainly one by *c.* 1115, and it was owned by the Abbey of Burton. I think I am right in assuming one also at Ilam, since Ilam is spoken of as mother church to Grendon as early as the first half of the twelfth century.

When we pass from Domesday to the Papal Return of 1291, we find at once a large addition to the churches and parishes: chapels of ease have been budded off; the religious houses have got hold of most of the older churches and turned them into

vicarages; the county is now roughly divided up into parishes. Further, slices have been cut off the original archdeaconry, and there are now deaneries of Alton, of Newcastle, of Lapley and Trysull, and of Tutbury and Tamworth.

These deaneries were cut off subsequent to the Conquest, for observe their titles. No one will persuade me that there was a deanery of Alton before Bertram de Verdon built his castle at Alton and founded his abbey at Croxden. That deanery was founded on political lines, and after the Verdon rise to power—after 1150. One can have no doubt that, before the Verdons, previous to 1150, this deanery was part of the archdeaconry in so far as there was any ecclesiastical direction. Then take the deanery of Newcastle, a tribute to the power of the Earl of Chester. That, too, must date subsequently to the founding of Newcastle, say about 1150. It cuts off the northern part of Pirehill, which was therefore also in the archdeaconry at the time of Domesday. Judging from the churches to be taxed in the 1291 Return, the whole of Pirehill and Totmonslow, plus the parish of Penkrige, must have been in the archdeaconry of Stafford as late as 1150.

How about the deanery of Lapley and Trysull? There is no mention of priests at either place in Domesday. Eyton implies that the monks of Rheims, though they owned Lapley at the Conquest, established their cell there subsequently. We know of no parish of Trysull at any time. When it first emerges ecclesiastically it is a chapelry of Wombourne. I suggest that this Lapley and Trysull deanery too was separated from the archdeaconry after 1086, and made to cover the Hundreds of Cuttlestone and Seisdon. The very fact that it took its name from Lapley (Cuttlestone) and Trysull (Seisdon) now in Seisdon parish, and not from Wolverhampton, the great Saxon foundation, confirms my suggestion of a post-Conquest origin. The other Hundred Offlow exactly corresponds with the deanery of Tutbury and Tamworth. But here again we know that Tutbury Castle was built by Henry de Ferrars after the Conquest, though before Domesday was compiled; and Tamworth was the seat of the post-Domesday Marmions. There is therefore *primâ facie* evidence that the archdeaconry was, at the Conquest, exactly the county of Stafford, one and undivided: and that it was

subsequently dismembered, following the divisions of the Hundreds.

I would add next that Broom, Clent, Dudley and Rowley Regis were not in the deanery of Lapley and Trysull, and therefore presumably not in the archdeaconry of Stafford, nor in the original county of Stafford when that county, at some date prior to the Conquest, was taken as the ecclesiastical unit. The whole of the Bridgnorth area, shown in Staffordshire in Domesday, was by the same reasoning included in the original county. This is important in dealing with the original hidation of the Hundreds when the county was created about A.D. 920-60.

The two hundred years that followed the Conquest saw the number of churches and parishes in Staffordshire doubled. That is not remarkable seeing the hold that the Church had on mankind during those years. It was during those two centuries that three-quarters of the religious houses were founded, and private chapels, chantries and village churches followed only just behind. Moreover I think it probable that the period 1154-1348 saw the population of Staffordshire double and even treble itself. One can judge of this in some degree by watching the growth of suits on the Plea Rolls, and the growth of the rentals of the landed estates. The reign of Henry III. saw an extraordinary development in this respect—the settlement or colonisation of the moorlands, the increase of boundary disputes, the essarting of the wastes.

With this in mind let us go through the Papal Return of 1291 as before, Hundred by Hundred. In each case I give the value of the tithes and glebe as set down in the Return, a value that had no doubt become conventional, and I omit the value of abbey lands in the parish which is shown in the Return attached to many of the parishes. In the last column is given the Domesday parish, from which I think the new ones had probably been severed. Wherever the great tithe had been impropriated by a religious house, the name of that house is given as in the Return.

Hundred of Pirehill.

Deanery of Newcastle :—

		£	s.	d.	
Wolstanton with chapels		26	13	4	
Biddulph		5	0	0	Wolstanton
Audley		13	6	8	Wolstanton
Madeley		6	13	4	Wolstanton
Stoke-on-Trent w. chapels		40	0	0	
Trentham	Trentham Pr.	13	6	8	
Mucclestone		13	6	8	
Maer	St. Thomas's Pr.	2	13	4	Mucclestone

Archdeaconry of Stafford :—

Stone	Stone Pr.	40	0	0	
Draycote (Hundred of Totmonslow)		13	6	8	Stone
Milwich	Stone Pr.	5	6	8	Stone
Sandon	Cumbermere Ab.	8	0	0	Stone
Swynnerton		10	0	0	Stone
Standon		6	13	4	
Chebsey		13	6	8	
Eccleshall	Prebend	66	13	4	
Cheswardine	Haughmond Ab.	6	13	4	Eccleshall
Adbaston or High Offley		13	6	8	Eccleshall
Abbots Bromley	Burton Ab.	26	13	4	
Blithfield		10	0	0	
Colwich	Prebend	26	13	4	
Stowe	St. Thomas's Pr.	10	0	0	
Weston by Sandon		6	13	4	Stowe
Stafford, St. Mary's	Collegiate	58	17	0	
Seighford	Ronton Pr.	13	6	8	Stafford

Hundred of Cuttlestone.

Archdeaconry of Stafford :—

Penkridge, with the prebends of Coppenthal, Stretton, Shareshill, Dunston, Penkridge, Congreve and Longridge	Collegiate Ch.	44	13	4	
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Deanery of Lapley and Trysull :—

Norbury		6	13	4	
Forton		6	13	4	Norbury
Gnosall	Collegiate Ch.	21	6	8	
Church Eaton		20	0	0	
Haughton		6	13	4	Church Eaton
Bradley		26	13	4	Church Eaton

Deanery of Lapley and Trysull—*contd.*

		£	s.	d.	
Baswich	Prebend	20	0	0	
Sherrif Hales	Ware Pr.	13	6	8	
Blymhill		8	0	0	Gnosall
Weston-under-Lyzeard		6	13	4	Brewood
Lapley	Lapley Cell	13	6	8	Church Eaton
Brewood	Prebend	40	0	0	

Hundred of Seisdon.

Deanery of Lapley and Trysull :—

Pattingham		18	13	4	
Tettenhall with members	Collegiate Ch.	29	6	8	
Bushbury		10	13	4	Wolverhampton
Wolverhampton, collegiate church, with prebends of Fetherston, Hatherton, Willenhall, "Wybaston," Hilton, Kinvaston, Monmore and the deanery		54	13	4	
Sedgley	Dudley Pr.	8	0	0	
Wombourne	Dudley Pr.	10	13	4	
Penne		8	0	0	Sedgley or Wombourne
Tipton		4	0	0	Sedgley
Kings Swinford		16	0	0	Sedgley
Kinver		8	0	0	
Enville		8	0	0	Kinver
Arley		10	0	0	Kinver
Worfield		33	6	8	
Bridgnorth with members		54	13	4	
Quat		6	13	4	In place of Alveley

Diocese of Worcester ; Deanery of Kidderminster :—

Clent with Rowley Chapel		18	13	4
Dudley		6	13	4

Hundred of Offlow.

Deanery of Tutbury and Tamworth :—

Hanbury with chapels		33	6	8	
Tutbury	Tutbury Pr.	7	13	4	Rolleston
Rolleston		13	6	8	
Burton-on-Trent	Abbey Church	10	0	0	
Tatenhill with chapel		16	13	4	Burton-on-Trent
Yoxall		13	6	8	Hanbury

Deanery of Tutbury and Tamworth—*contd.*

		£	s.	d.	
Hamstall Ridware		5	6	8	Hanbury
Alrewas	Prebend	20	0	0	
Lichfield, with prebends of Weeford, Freford, Long- don, Handsacre, the Gaias, Lit. Pipe and "Bishops Hill"		103	0	0	
Statfold	Prebend	10	0	0	Tamworth
Clifton Camvill with chapels		16	13	4	
Elford		5	6	8	Clifton Cam.
Tamworth, St. Edith's	Collegiate Ch.	36	13	4	
Shenstone	Oseney Ab.	16	13	4	Walsall
Aldridge with chapels		6	13	4	Walsall
Walsall	Hales Ab.	12	0	0	
Wednesbury		5	13	4	Walsall
West Bromwich	Sandwell Pr.	4	0	0	Handsworth- Lichfield
Handsworth		14	0	0	

Hundred of Totmonslow.

Deanery of Alton :—

Leek with chapels	Deulacres Ab.	28	0	0	
Cheddleton		8	0	0	Leek
Ilam	Burton Ab.	8	0	0	
Grendon		6	13	4	Ilam
Alstonefield	Cumbermere Ab.	13	6	8	Ilam
Mayfield	Tutbury Pr.	10	0	0	
Rocester	Rocester Ab.	13	6	8	Mayfield
Alton	Croxden Ab. ¹	12	0	0	Mayfield
Ellaston	Calwich Pr.	9	6	8	Mayfield
Uttoxeter		12	0	0	
Leigh	Burton Ab.	13	6	8	[Uttoxeter]
Checkley		10	13	4	Uttoxeter
Kingston and Gratwich		6	13	4	Uttoxeter
Cheadle		7	6	8	
Kingsley		6	13	4	Cheadle
Dilhorn	Dean and Chap- ter of Lich- field	6	6	8	Cheadle
Caverswall	St. Thomas's Pr.	6	6	8	Cheadle

¹ Croxden Abbey Church was dedicated in 1253 (*Croxden Chronicle*).

Notes on Pirehill Parishes.

Biddulph—Geographically Biddulph must have split off from Wolstanton. It developed into a parish under the paternal rule of Orm de Darlaston or of his descendants called of Biddulph.

Madeley—May have been built in the wilds, Wolstanton having little to say in the matter. As a manor held in demesne by the Lords Stafford it was bound to become an ecclesiastical as well as a civil unit. It was given to Stone in or before 1147 (*Staff. Colls.* II, p. 217).

Audley—The church here must have sprung up before the Audleys seated themselves at Redcastle in 1223, and after the rise of Adam de Audley about 1170.

Maer—May have come out of the parish of Stoke or that of Mucclestone, I think the latter. It seems to have been granted to St. Thomas' late in the 13th century, and I doubt if there was a church there much before its impropriation, as the Mere family were not of importance before that date.

Draycote—Though in Totmonslow Hundred is dealt with here, since it was clearly cut out of Stone parish and lay in the Stafford archdeaconry. The family of Draycote, founded by a Cheshire Chief Justice of 1210-30, was sufficient cause for a church and parish.

Milwich was given to Stone Priory in or before 1147. Probably the priory had had most to do with the building there of a chapel and with its elevation to a parish church.

Sandon was the manor of the Barons of Wich Malbanc, who ended about 1170. It must have been by one of these barons that the church was founded and handed over to their Abbey of Cumbermere.

Swynnerton—The Swynnerton family were important enough at any time to cause a church and parish to spring up here. It was originally part of Stone; but the fact that the Swynnertons owned Hatton, Shelton and Acton also to the north, led to that northern end being also included in the new parish although it lay probably originally in Stoke-on-Trent,—the link between Whitmore and Newcastle.

Cheswardine—About 1166 John le Strange of Knockyn held Cheswardine in demesne. I imagine that it was then that church or chapel grew. The l'Estranges were powerful enough

to take Cheswardine away from Staffordshire itself, let alone from the parish of Eccleshall.

Adbaston—There were knights at Adbaston about 1200, it may be of sufficient prominence to start a new parish; but it is as likely that this Adbaston is really High Offley under another name. Of *High Offley* we know that a suit of 21 Edward I. traced presentations in the Haughton family, which held the manor back to the time of K. John.

Weston by Sandon—About 1270 Robert Ferrers, lord of Chartley, gave this church to St. Thomas' Priory, and I imagine that it was not of much older date, since the Ferrers family had only come to Chartley to reside since 1266.

Seighford—Ronton Abbey was founded by the FitzNoels about 1150, and I almost think their foundation of Seighford Church must have been earlier, otherwise the church and parish centre would have been at Ronton too.

Notes on the Cuttlestone Parishes.

Forton—There is no obvious reason why a church should have grown here.

Haughton—The knightly family of this name would cause this parish to split off from Church Eaton at a very early date.

Bradley—The value of this church is so great that one may think it an original parish. I believe, however, that, being the chief manor of the lords Stafford, that alone was sufficient to give it its value and to ensure its separation from Church Eaton or Stafford.

Blymhill and Weston-under-Lizard—Chaplains of both these places occur as early as 1199 (*Staff. Colls.* II, N.S., p. 294), which indicates the process of development from chaplain to rector. How can one ever say exactly when a parish starts. Mr. Bridgeman thinks that Weston must have been cut out of Brewood and Blymhill out of Gnosall. He says that at least as early as 1254, nearly a century before we hear of Weston-under-Lizard, it was known as Weston-under-Brewood (*Staff. Colls.* II, N.S., pp. 17, 19), and Weston would be the most western part of Brewood parish. The convention between Wm. Bagot

Blymhill and the canons of Gnosall towards the close of the 12th century (*ibid.*, II, ii, p. 135) seems almost conclusive as to Blymhill.

Lapley—This cell of Rheims Abbey must have been started very soon after the Conquest, and with it no doubt arose the parish church and parish. This, too, probably split off from Church Eaton.

Notes on Seisdon Parishes.

Bushbury—It was not till 1352 that the lords of Bushbury gave the church to St. Thomas' Priory. It is obvious that Bushbury was cut off from Wolverhampton; and I imagine from the position of the Bushbury family that it was not founded much before this (1291) date.

Penne—This is an old church at Penne and I am not sure whether it grew out of Wombourne or Sedgley or Tettenhall. It was founded before 1200, and was granted by Hugh de Bushbury to the bishop about 1224-38 (*Staff. Colls.* I, p. 192).

Tipton—But for the fact that Tipton is in the Lapley deanery, though in Offlow Hundred, one would suppose that it was originally part of West Bromwich, as they both belonged to the bishopric lands in 1086. However, the deanery is evidence that it came out of Sedgley.

Kings Swinford—A royal manor that may have had a church at Domesday, or was very soon after separated off from Sedgley.

Enville—May have been founded by Sir Richard de Enville, *temp.* K. John.

Arley—I know little of this or the preceding, but suppose they came out of Kinver.

Quat—I take it that the priest in Alveley in 1086 and the church of Quat of 1291 were directly related, as the places adjoin.

Notes on Offlow Parishes.

Tutbury—This may have come from Rolleston or Hanbury geographically. The church followed on the castle of Henry de Ferrers soon after Domesday.

Tatenhill or Burton-on-Trent—Which was the original I cannot say. Tatenhill Church is almost on the boundary, which makes me think that possibly that parish was the older. In neither is a priest mentioned in Domesday, but then Tatenhill is not mentioned at all, which again makes me think it was the ecclesiastical parish.

Yoxall and Hamstall Ridware—Must both have come out of

Needwood Forest, which was probably a nominal part of the ancient Hanbury.

Statfold—If there was a church here, which I doubt, I think it must originally have been part of Tamworth parish before the prebendaries of Lichfield took it over.

Elford—The Barons of Montalt (Mold) owned this manor, and probably instigated the separation from the original Clifton in the 12th century.

Shenstone—Brien Fitz Count held this manor in demesne in 1130, and such a lord must have had his own church. Whether it should be regarded as coming from Lichfield or Walsall I cannot say, any more than I can of the following.—

Aldridge—But the map makes me put them both as children of the ecclesiastical parish of Lichfield.

Wednesbury—I imagine that the change from chapel to church here is due to its possession by the d'Oilly Barons, who founded Oseney Abbey. Wednesbury was one of the group that made up the five-hide unit of Walsall.

West Bromwich and Handsworth—These two had the same ecclesiastical history. Both manors belonged to the bishops originally, and may have been deemed part of Lichfield; neither shows any parson in 1086; they can hardly have been part of Lichfield, and I am inclined to suggest that Handsworth was the ancient parish and existed before Domesday.

Notes on Totmonslow Parishes.

Cheddleton—There is no doubt about this being a chapelry of Leek. It reverted to that status in later years. Sir William de Cheddleton, *c.* 1270, was just sufficiently important to get his own church; but his descendants were not strong enough to keep it.

Grendon and *Alstonefield* were, according to the Burton Cartulary, the offspring of Ilam. As Alstonefield was appropriated to Cumbermere Abbey, I imagine that it was made independent during the lordship of the Wich Malbanc Barons, *i.e.* before 1170.

Rocester—This parish dates no doubt from the founding of the abbey, and came from ancient Mayfield.

Alton—The parish may date from the building of the castle there, about 1170; but the church was dedicated June 1, 1267 (*Croxden Chron.*). At this time it doubtless included Croxden.

Ellaston dates from after the founding of Calwich Priory, to which it was appropriated. There seems at least to have been no other reason for putting a parish here.

Leigh and Checkley—These two were, I suppose, first united under a church at Leigh, which must have been founded very soon after, if not before, the Conquest. Checkley manor was granted by the Prior of Kenilworth to Alice, the heiress of Hopton, who married the first de Bek, lord in 7 Ric. I.

Dilhorn—This church was granted to Stone Priory before 1166. How it comes to be put down to the Dean and Chapter I cannot say.

Caverswall—This church was only granted to St. Thomas' Priory about 1270, and I believe that it was only built just previously during the time of Sir Wm. de Caverswall the sheriff.

We now have to consider whether we can take the 1291 Papal Return as correct or complete. Obviously the values attached to the churches are purely formal and conventional, a value for taxation only at a time when there were no assessment authorities. But the names seem to be accurately given and also the impropriation to the various religious houses in most cases. What is certain, however, is that many chapels and some churches and parishes were left out.

For instance, in 1248 Payn de Wasteneys was sued by the Crown, acting for the Dean of the King's chapel of St. Mary's Stafford, for the presentation to the church of Tixall. Both Tixall and Ingestre were Free Chapels in later years, and probably in 1248 also. As Free Chapels they would perhaps be rightly omitted from the 1291 Return; but the parishes or chapelries may be said to have existed in 1291 and should be added to the list.

Another chapel of Stafford, which amounted to a parish with church, was Hopton. The advowson to this church was disputed in 1293, and the claimants put in presentations dating back to the time of John. Its value and identity may, however, be rightly submerged in the Stafford return.

High Offley is a more difficult case. We know from a suit of 21 Edward I. that the claimants were putting in precedents for presentation dating back to the time of King John; but no church at High Offley is mentioned in the 1291 Return. Adbaston is, however, mentioned, and it is just possible that the

two parishes were one and were known by either name. But, as Offley Church was evidently founded by the Haughton family, who owned Offley and not Adbaston, I am on the whole inclined to say that High Offley was omitted in error from the Return of 1291.

The same omission was without any doubt made in the case of Harbourne, a church founded probably by Henry FitzGerold the chamberlain, or by his son Warin FitzGerold before 1217; the heirs of FitzGerold "acknowledged" the right to be in the Abbot of Hales in 1260. The Abbot of Hales had Walsall also, and it is again just possible that all the south-east, including Handsworth and Aldridge, was originally in the Domesday Parish of Walsall, and that even in 1260 Harbourne was by way of being merely a chapel in that ecclesiastical area. Lastly there is Colton. A priest is mentioned here in Domesday. I have no hesitation in saying that it was a separate parish with a church in 1291 also and that it was forgotten. There is a suit respecting Colton Church giving a pedigree concerning it as early as John or even Richard (*Staff. Colls.* I, p. 220).

These omissions, or at least the last, cast doubt upon the accuracy of the 1291 Return; there may be many other omissions that one cannot check and correct. But one fixed conclusion I have come to, and that is that there was no definite moment when a new church or parish was founded. The process was automatic. As soon as the lord of a manor evolved from yeoman to gentleman some clerk was attached to the family as confessor or accountant—one who could claim benefit of clergy. A family chapel followed; then a wooden church. Still the lord appointed his own clerk. Finally the church or the congregation grew out of the domestic chrysalis; the bishop became interested; often some religious house mothered it, organized the revenue and took its farm. The lord may have been glad to hand it over definitely to the house.

Some such development as this would account for the genealogical suits respecting presentations that are so common and which seem at the same time to concern churches where there were none, or none at least in the 1291 Return. "I always had a church here" became as much common form as "My ancestors have always had the right of Free Warren." The only time when they did not want always to have had a church was when it was a question of Papal Taxation, so that

many of the budding, concealable, churches may have got left out of the 1291 Papal Return.

However I think we should add Tixall, Ingestre, Colton, Harbourne and High Offley to the parish map of 1291, and we must remember that there may be others.

In many cases the reason for the creation of a new parish, the building of a new church is obvious. If a great lord resident on his manor had no church, his position and dignity required that he should have a chapel and confessor; this led directly, as we have said, to the parish church close to the doors of the hall. If the lord had been endowing a religious house, the house often helped in the building of the church, had it granted to them, and put in a vicar as a cure of souls. But this was by no means always the case. Often the lord desired to retain in his own hands the patronage of the church. Again the founding of the religious house itself generally meant the establishment of a parish, generally without any other than the abbey church (*e.g.* Burton). So it comes that from the dates of the great lords and from the dates of the foundation of the houses of religion it is possible to attach to most of these new parishes the probable dates of their creation.

With regard to my suggestion (p. 190) as to the cutting off of deaneries from the archdeaconry of Stafford, Mr. C. G. O. Bridgeman writes to me as follows:—

“Would it not be more accurate to say that the archdeaconry had been divided into deaneries, of which the deanery of Stafford was one? In the latter part of Pope Nicholas’ Taxation, the *taxatio bonorum temporalium* of the bishopric, abbeys, etc. (as set out in Shaw’s *Staffs.*, vol. i, pp. xx–xxiv), reference is made to the following deaneries:—Lichfield, Tamworth, Alton, Trysull, Stafford, Newcastle, Lapley, Avecote [*qu.* Onecote, one of the townships within the old parish of Leek], Tutbury, and Penkridge. All these, except Lichfield, appear to be summed up together as being within the archdeaconry of Stafford, while Stone is spoken of as within the deanery of Stafford, and Brewood and Eccleshall and the rest of the temporal possessions of the bishopric as within the deanery of Lichfield. Is it not the natural inference that the archdeaconry of Stafford had then already been subdivided into at least eight deaneries, of which Lapley and Trysull were coupled together, also Tutbury with Tamworth, and Alton with Onecote (see Shaw, *Staffs.*, p. xx, where the Church of St. Edith, Tamworth, is entered under the deanery of Tutbury and the church of Leek under the deanery of Alton)? At the end of Lapley and Trysull (p. xx), and apparently included thereunder, occur Wolverhampton with its members, Tettenhall with its members, and Bridgenorth with its members, but there is no sum total given of the revenues from Lapley and Trysull. There may perhaps be a question whether or to what extent these royal chapels and collegiate churches, with titular deans at their heads, such as Penkridge, Wolverhampton, Tettenhall, and Bridgenorth, were considered as included within the local deaneries, or were subject to the jurisdiction of the rural deans, or even of the archdeacon. As regards Bridgenorth, see Eyton’s *Ant. of Shrops.*, i. pt. iv, 323–326.”

NOTE ON PREVALENCE OF PRE- CONQUEST PERSONAL NAMES.

IN a more or less vain effort to distinguish what names of pre-Conquest holders of land were Saxon and what Dane, I have extracted the following lists out of Domesday Book. Norfolk was of all the counties the most permeated with Danish settlers; Hampshire was one of the most exclusively Saxon. Comparing these two, we should get the clearest distinction of personal name to guide one to the Saxon or Danish character of Staffordshire names. It will be seen that there is not much to go upon. The Danes seem soon to have adopted Saxon names. The commonest name in Norfolk is Godwine, the next Eadric, both Saxon; Aelfric, Aelfwine, and Godwine are commonest in Hampshire. In Staffordshire, Aelfric, Wulfric, Wulfketel, and Godwine head the list.

Derby and Nottinghamshire should be Danish, Worcester Saxon; they are added for comparison. Except in Staffordshire I have not troubled to give those names which occur less than three times. Grimkel, Hacon, Haldene, Odincarle, Olaf, Osmund, Pata, Thorketel or Thorkyl, Thurgeat, Toki, Tol, Wither, and perhaps Swegn and Toulf seem markedly confined to Danish districts, and hardly any of these names occur in Staffordshire. The common Saxon names occur throughout.

This list may also be useful in helping to translate into English the efforts of the Domesday scribes which too often conceal the Saxon under a travesty. Leuin for Leofwine, and Algar for Aelfgar ought not to be perpetuated.

It is permissible to see in the frequency of Aelfrics and Wulfrics in Staffordshire some corroboration of the power and place of the ealdormen Aelfric and Wulfric Spot.

THE PREVALENCE OF PERSONAL NAMES IN DOMESDAY. 203

Name.	Hants.	Worces.	Staffs.	Derby.	Notts.	Norfolk.
Achi, Achil, Aschil	0	1	2	0	2	0
Ælfgar (Algar) ...	2	3	1	2	4	5
Ælfred (Alured) ...	1	2	1	0	0	4
*Ælfric (Alric) ...	17	13	14	10	15	8
*Ælfward (Alward)	14	5	8	0	0	1
Ælfwige (Alwi) ...	7	6	0	0	0	4
Ælfwine (Alwin)...	17	6	7	2	7	8
*Ælfwold (Alwold)	1	5	0	1	2	1
Ælnoth (Alnod) ...	5	1	0	2	2	2
Ælmund (Almund)	0	0	3	0	0	0
*Ælsige (Alsi) ...	7	1	4	1	6	5
Æthelred (Adelred)	7	0	0	0	0	0
Æthelric (Adelric)	0	4	0	6	0	0
Æthelstan (Ales- tan)	2	0	0	0	2	6
Æthelwig (Adelwi)	0	4	0	0	3	0
Alti	1	0	2	1	0	0
*Archil	0	0	2	0	2	0
Augustine... ..	0	0	1	0	0	0
Aylmer (Almar) ...	3	0	4	0	5	5
Azor	2	3	0	0	4	0
Bernulf	0	0	2	0	0	0
Bodin, Boda	2	0	1	2	0	0
Bond, Bondi	2	0	0	0	0	6
Bricsmar	1	4	0	0	1	0
Brictric	4	6	0	0	0	1
Brictwine	0	0	1	0	0	0
Brodor	0	0	2	0	0	1
Bugo	0	0	0	0	4	0
Cheping	4	0	0	0	0	0
*Dunning	0	2	3	4	2	0
*Eadmund... ..	1	0	3	0	0	0
*Eadric	8	0	4	6	1	10
Eadwine	0	3	2	3	0	3
Eadward	6	2	0	2	0	0
Eadwulf	1	0	1	0	0	0
Earnwig	0	0	1	0	0	0
Earnwine... ..	0	1	0	3	6	0
Elving	0	0	1	1	0	0
Ezi... ..	4	0	0	0	0	0
Fragrin	0	0	1	0	0	0
Frane	0	1	1	0	6	0
Gamel	0	0	1	7	1	0
Gladwine	0	0	1	1	3	0
*Goding	1	0	1	0	0	1
Godric	6	10	6	12	18	5

Name.	Hants.	Worces.	Staffs.	Derby.	Notts.	Norfolk.
*Godwine	16	1	12	7	7	14
Grifin	0	0	1	0	0	0
Grimkel	0	0	0	0	5	1
Hacon	0	0	0	3	0	7
Haldene	0	0	0	1	4	1
Hunta	0	0	1	0	0	0
*Iwar	0	0	1	0	0	0
Kenwine(Chenwin)	1	0	1	0	0	0
Ketel (Chetel) ...	4	0	1	6	0	7
Leofnoth (Levnot)	0	3	1	13	1	0
*Leofric (Leuric) ...	0	4	1	11	8	4
Leofwine (Leuin)	6	1	1	11	5	1
Ligulf	0	0	1	5	0	0
Lunare	0	0	1	0	0	0
Luvet	0	0	1	0	0	0
*Oda	4	0	3	0	0	0
Odincarle... ..	0	0	0	1	6	0
Olaf	0	0	0	0	0	4
Ordmar	0	0	4	1	0	0
Osbern	0	0	0	0	4	0
Osmund	0	0	0	4	2	4
Pata	0	0	1	0	0	0
Rafwine (Raven)	0	0	3	3	0	0
Rafsward	0	0	1	0	0	0
Rouketel, Raven- chil	0	0	1	1	0	0
Sagrim	0	0	1	0	0	0
Sawin	4	1	0	0	2	0
Siward	2	2	2	9	3	1
*Swegn	1	0	7	5	11	1
Thorketel (Thor- gisle)	0	0	0	1	3	4
Thorkyl	0	0	0	0	6	5
Thorverd	0	0	0	0	6	0
Thurburn	1	1	1	0	0	2
Thurgeat	0	0	1	1	5	2
Thurstan	0	0	2	0	3	1
Toki	0	0	1	4	1	8
Tol, Toli	1	1	1	2	0	3
	(the Dane)					
Toulf	0	0	1	1	0	1
Tovi	7	0	0	0	0	2

Name.	Hants.	Worces.	Staffs.	Derby.	Notts.	Norfolk.
*Uchtred	0	0	1	3	0	0
Untan	0	0	1	0	0	0
Urfer	0	0	2	0	0	0
Wilegrip	0	0	2	0	0	0
Wistric, Wistrinc	1	0	1	1	0	0
Wither	0	0	0	0	0	4
*Wodeman	0	0	1	0	0	0
*Wodie	0	0	2	1	0	0
Wulf	0	1	0	0	3	4
*Wulfag (Ulfac) ...	0	1	4	1	5	2
Wulfhelm	0	0	2	0	0	0
Wulfhere	0	0	1	0	0	0
*Wulfgeat (Ulviet)	2	2	13	6	9	4
Wulfketel (Ul- chetel)	0	3	0	10	22	10
*Wulfmar (Ulmara)	0	4	5	2	8	2
Wulfnoth (Ulnod)	5	0	0	0	0	1
*Wulfric (Uluric) ...	6	2	13	5	12	2
Wulfgar (Ulgar) ...	0	0	1	0	0	0
Wulfsgie (Ulsi) ...	0	1	0	7	10	0
Wulfwine (Ulwin)	2	5	0	0	0	0
Wulstan (Ultan) ...	3	0	3	2	2	0

* These occur in Totmonslow Hundred. Archil, Iwar, Swegn, Wulfac, Wulfgeat, seem to be predominantly Danish.

NOTE ON EARLY REMAINS.

IT will be as well to conclude this survey of pre-Conquest Staffordshire with selections from an Inventory supplied to the North Staffordshire Field Club by Mr. Lynam and Mr. Wells Bladen of the ancient monuments of Staffordshire. The list of pre-Norman Crosses is pertinent in considering the pre-Conquest character of some of the churches.

Prehistoric.

Bride Stones, Biddulph.
Devil's Ring and Finger, Mucklestone.

Hill Forts.

Bunbury, Alton.
Bury Ring, Bradley.
Berth Hill, Maer.
Bury Bank, Stone.
Castle Ring, Cannock.
Castle Old Fort, Shenstone.
Kinver Edge Camp.

Pre-Norman Crosses.

Abbey Green Farm, Leek.
Alstonefield Churchyard and Porch.
Chebsey Churchyard.
Checkley Churchyard.
Ilam Churchyard.
Ilam Hall Grounds.
Leek Churchyard.
Stoke-on-Trent Churchyard.
Wolverhampton Churchyard.

Defensive Enclosures.

Chesterton Camp.
Knaves Castle by Ogle Hay.

Kingswinford, Camp at Green's Forge.
 Longdon Camp, near Church.
 Rocester, Barrow Hill.
 Shareshill Camp.

Miscellaneous Earthworks.

Barr, Gt., Round Hill.
 Leek Frith, Lower Haddon.
 Lichfield, Prince Rupert's Mound.
 Barrow Cop Hill, Lichfield.
 Mayfield, the Cliffs.
 „ Hollow Lane.
 Stone, Common Plot Terraces.
 Stretton by Burton, the Vicarage.
 Trysull, Abbot's Castle Hill.
 Uttoxeter, Hill House Terraces.
 „ Cottage Holding.
 Wootton, Raddle Pits.

The North Staffordshire Field Club list goes on to give lists of Castles, Abbeys, Later Crosses, Manor House ruins, Homestead Moats, and Early Burial Mounds or Lows. This last is the only one that concerns our purpose; though there is little evidence to show that any of these lows were in reality burial places. The following may, however, be possibly artificial mounds or lows.

Alstonefield, Narrow dale Hill.
 „ Gratton Hill.
 „ Ilamtops Low.
 „ Stanshope.
 „ Steep Low.
 „ Pea Low.
 Blore *c.* Swinscoe, W. of Blore.
 „ Dan Low.
 „ Lady Low.
 Cauldon, Crow Low.
 Calton, Cart Low.
 „ Lower Calton Green House.
 Calwich, Calwich Low.

- Caverswall, Swan Bank, Cookshill.
 „ Weston Coyney.
 Cotton, Nr. Ribden Clay Works.
 Croxall.
 Elford, The Low.
 Ellaston, Gid Low.
 Farley, Beelow Hill.
 „ Nr. Three Lows Cottage.
 „ Wardlow.
 Fawfieldhead, N. of the Low.
 „ N.W. of the Low.
 Hintes, Golds Clump.
 Ilam, Beechenhill.
 „ Musden Low.
 „ Musden Low, N.W.
 „ Musden Low, S.
 Kingswinford, Barrow Hill.
 Maer, Camphills.
 „ Kings Bank.
 Mayfield, The Rowleys.
 Rugeley, Etchinghill.
 Sheen, Brund Lane.
 Stanton, Over Low.
 „ Scrip Low.
 Stone, Saxon Low.
 Stretton by Penkridge, Rowley Hill.
 Swinfen and Packington, Offlow.
 Tixall, Blackheath Covert.
 „ Lower Hanyards.
 Uttoxeter, Toothill.
 Waterfall, Waterfall Low.
 „ S. of Oldfields Farm.
 Weston Jones, Gregory.
 Wetton, S.W. of Gateham.
 „ Wetton Low.
 „ Ecton Low.
 Wootton, Three Knowls on Weever Hill.
 „ One other.

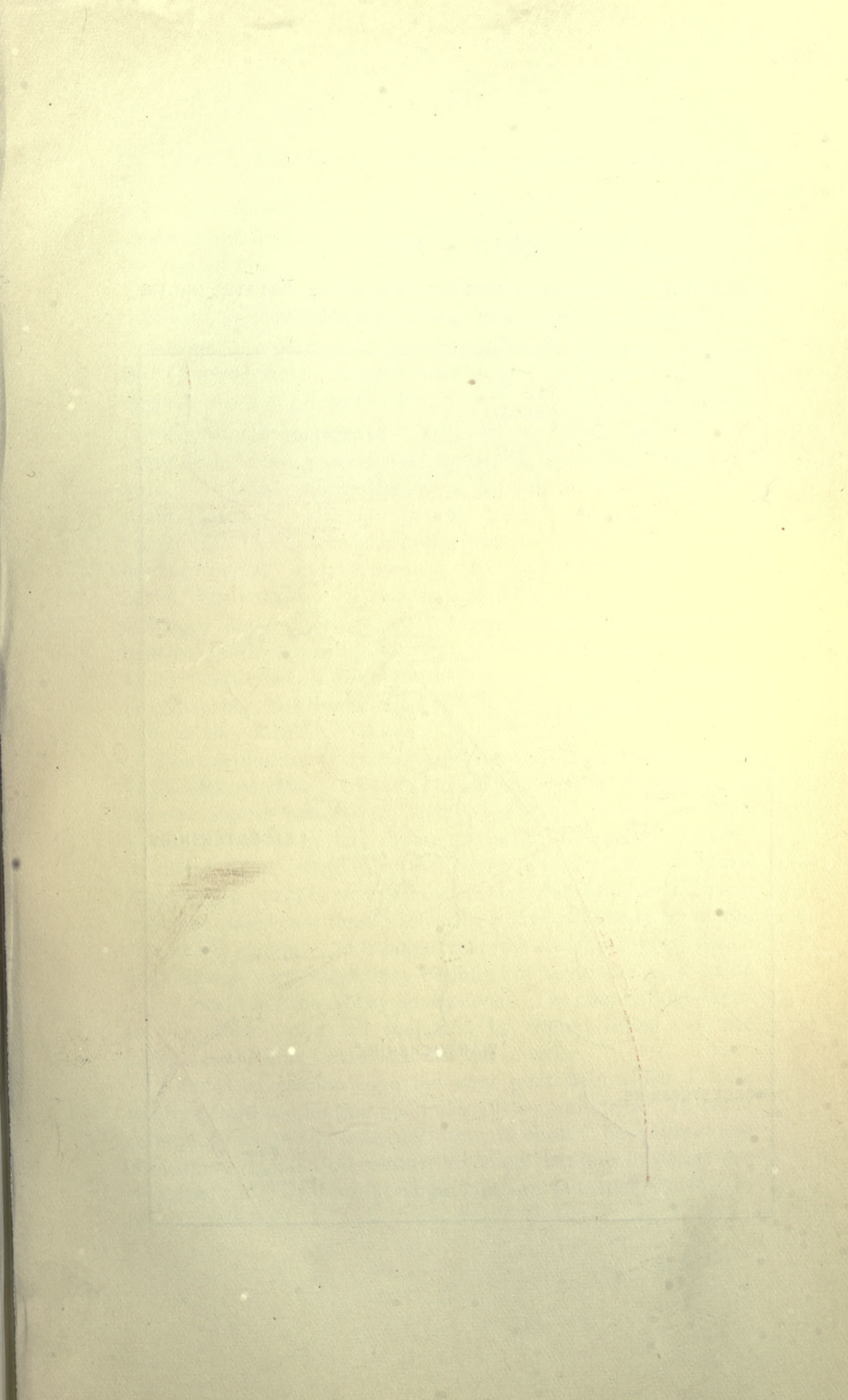
THE BURTON ABBEY TWELFTH CENTURY SURVEYS.¹

BY CHARLES G. O. BRIDGEMAN.

MR. J. HORACE ROUND, in his Notes on the Burton Abbey Surveys (reprinted in the William Salt Society's *Staffordshire Historical Collections*, N.S. vol. IX, pp. 271-289, from the *English Historical Review*), has called attention to the importance of these surveys for historical purposes because of their exceptionally early date—the earlier one being actually, and the other almost, within a generation after the great Domesday Survey. No one, I think, can study or try to collate these two surveys, as printed in Vol. V, part 2, pp. 18-30 of the same Collections from the transcripts made by the late General Wrottesley, in the light of Mr. Round's illuminating and suggestive notes without sharing his regret that we have no complete verbatim copy of the surveys to refer to. At the time when those transcripts were made it was not foreseen how much might turn upon the exact wording of every part, and, although most of the Staffordshire entries were reproduced in full, this does not apply to the descriptions of Wetmore and Horninglow or of Bromley in one of the surveys, or those of Branston or of Stretton in the other, nor to the descriptions of many parts of the Derbyshire and Warwickshire estates in both surveys. General Wrottesley evidently thought that he was setting out everything that could possibly be of value to the future county historian of Staffordshire, but even for this purpose something has been lost by the occasional omission of details in some of

¹ The missing MS. (*see note ante*, p. 1) not having been found, this paper has had to be rewritten. It is hoped, however, that it has gained rather than lost in the process.

the Staffordshire manors, and Mr. Round's paper shews how useful for more general historical purposes a complete verbatim copy of these surveys should be. In the present paper, the greater part of which was prepared before I had seen the *Burton Cartulary* itself, I have attempted to carry the study of these surveys a step or two further, avoiding so far as possible a repetition of what has already been explained so clearly and satisfactorily by Mr. Round. But in so doing I often found myself hampered by the incompleteness of the printed edition and occasionally by doubts as to whether it was always to be relied on as accurate, and therefore I determined, if possible, to see the original document myself. By the courtesy of the Marquess of Anglesey, my brother, the Rev. Ernest Bridgeman, and I have now had the privilege of inspecting together the original Cartulary in the muniment room at Beaudesert and of taking a fresh transcript of the two surveys. It seemed to me that it might be of some real use that the whole of these surveys, including for convenience of reference the two descriptions of Burton, which were omitted by General Wrottesley because they had already been printed in the Appendix to the First Volume of Shaw's *History of Staffordshire*, should be reproduced in print with the omitted parts supplied and a few inaccuracies corrected. By this means I hoped that other points worth notice, though missed by me, might be suggested to some reader more versed than I can pretend to be in twelfth-century lore. For some time I hesitated whether it would be better to print the surveys in the extended form adopted by General Wrottesley, or in contracted form with the original abbreviations as shewn in Shaw's *Staffordshire*; there seemed to me to be objections to each of these courses, and finally I determined that the best course would be to extend the abbreviations, but to distinguish the extensions by italics, so that it might be seen at a glance how much of the transcript was an exact reproduction of the original and how much depended for its accuracy upon a correct understanding by me of the abbreviations used. In most cases it was not difficult to determine what the abbreviations stood for, as they generally took more or less the same forms, and the original manuscript was evidently written with great care and accuracy. The most common of these abbreviations include



SKETCH MAP

SHEWING THE POSITION OF THE BURTON ABBEY ESTATES IN THE EARLY PART OF THE 12TH CENTURY.



p for "per," p̄ for "pro," p' for "pre," c for "con," a somewhat similar symbol above the line for "us" or occasionally "ost" (as op^o and p^o for "opus" and "post"), ꝥ for "rum" (as hoꝥ for "horum"), ꝛ for "us" or sometimes "et" (as diebꝛ and debꝛ for "diebus" and "debet"), or after q for "que" (as quinqꝛ for "quinque"), or for "quia," † for "est," † for "et," and XL or XL̄ for "Quadragesima." A small vowel above the line usually means that the vowel is preceded by "r" or "u" (*e.g.* q̄s p̄us for "quas prius"), sometimes that it is followed by "r" (as ūgultum for "virgultum"), but ġ stands for "igitur," m̄ for "modo" and ñ for "nisi." A small r above the line at the end of a word generally stands for "ur": the s is nearly always omitted in "ipse," "ipsi," etc. An apostrophe in the middle of a word often stands for "er" or "ar," and a horizontal line above the word for "m" or "n," but both these forms, as well as a wavy line above the word, are frequently used to denote some other or more comprehensive abbreviation (*e.g.* p'sb'r for "presbyter," b' for "bovata," h̄t for "habet," etc.). The instances here given do not profess to be exhaustive, but it is thought that they will be found to cover most of the ground.

For convenience of comparison I have placed the two surveys in parallel columns. I have followed Mr. Round in designating the one placed first in the Cartulary, Survey A, and the other Survey B, but as he has shewn conclusively that the fifteenth-century heading attributing the former to the time of Abbot Nigel (1094-1114) is erroneous, and that Survey A is really of somewhat later date than Survey B, I have put the latter in the first or left column. It is hoped that the accompanying sketch map, though very rough, may be found of some use as a guide to the locality of the Abbey possessions. The county boundaries as they then stood are indicated by dotted lines, and the (undoubted) Roman roads are marked in red.

I desire to acknowledge the very great help which I have received from my brother in making this transcript. It would perhaps be too much to expect that it should be entirely free from mistakes, but I do venture to hope that the mistakes are very few, and if so, I am in large measure indebted for this to his valuable help.

SURVEY B.

fo. ix Extenta terrarum Monasterii de Burtona super Trent tempore Regis Henrici primi Et Galfridi Abbatis anno primo

IN Burtona est inlanda aratorum .ij; aratra .ij. sunt de .xvi. bobus. Preter hos sunt alii boues .iiij. ad calcem ferendam, & .iiij. ad ligna: equa .i. ad herzandum preter equas de haraz que erant .lxx. inter equas & pullos tempore Nigelli Abbatis. Asini hispani .iiij, vacce .xix. Taurus .i., vituli .viiij., ociosa animalia .ij., porci .c. & .xxviiij. Terra hominum se defendit pro hida & dimidia. Villani sunt Fredebertus, Edwardus, Adelon, Alwinus, Leuietus, Vctebanus, Eluricus, & Edricus; quisque tenet .ii. bouatas & operatur .ij. diebus in hebdomada & debet in anno aut equum inuenire aut .iiij. denarios reddere propter iter Abbatis ad curiam & ire pro sale semel & alia vice pro piscibus aut dare .ij. denarios pro utroque summagio & .i. quadrigam lignorum & .ij. gallinas ad natale, & facere .i. sextarium brasii, & dat pasnagium, & bis arat in anno, & preter hoc in Quadragesima dimidiam acram, & a Pentecoste usque ad festum omnium sanctorum mittit animalia sua in faldam domini & pro unaquaque quam in'get [sic]² domi

SURVEY A.

Extenta terrarum monasterii de fo. v Burtona super Trent Tempore regis Henrici Primi et Nigelli Abbatis [sic]¹

IN Burtona est Inlanda ad .ij. aratra in dominio; terra hominum se defendit pro hida & dimidia. In terra Warlanda sunt .xv. bovate ad opus & .xv. ad malam, scilicet inter totum .xxx. bovate. De hiis que sunt ad opus tenent .ij. bouarii .ij. bouatas id est quisque .i. bouatam, & Rauechetus .i. bouatam; Ceteras, id est .xij. bouatas tenent villani sex, scilicet vnusquisque .ij. bouatas. Item preter has alii duo bouarii tenent ad opus quisque .vi. acras de Inlanda. Item Aluricus cotsetus saluerius tenet .i. domum, & operatur uno die. Willelmus sutor .i. domum & operatur uno die. Bristoaldus .i. domum, & operatur .i. die. Lewinus Fiton .i. domum, & operatur .i. die. Godricus ad barbam .i. domum & operatur .i. die. alter Godricus .i. domum & operatur .i. die. Vluet .i. domum & operatur .i. die. Wulfricus carpentarius .i. domum & operatur uno die. Hardwinus .i. domum pro uno vano & una cana. Lewi .i. domum & operatur .i. die. Item Leuricus tenet .i. domum & operatur .i. die. Item de hiis qui

¹ The date assigned by this heading is clearly erroneous (see *ante*, p. 211).

² I am unable to suggest what the proper extension of this word should be: the natural extension would be "inlarget," but I cannot find any such word, and without knowing this one cannot be sure of the exact meaning or

SURVEY B—*contd.*

inuenit .i. hominem in Augusto ad secandum & qui a Pentecoste usque ad Augustum uadit ad lucum pro .i. quadriga debet reddere .ij. denarios . Rauechetus tenet .i. bouatam & operatur .i. die & uadit ubi mittitur . Alwinus similiter . homo monialis similiter. Cotseti sunt Godricus, Aluricus, alter Godricus, Seietus, Leuietus, Bristoaldus, Vluietus, Lefleda, Aluena, Doune, Willelmus sutor, quisque habet .i. cortillagium & operatur .i. die; Bouarii .ij. quisque tenet .i. bouatam. ¶ Censarii sunt isti; Willelmus de Sobehalle tenet .ij. bouatas pro .ij. solidis, & debet ire ubicumque mittitur, aut cum abbate aut sine abbate. Tintor habet .ij. bouatas pro .ij. solidis & .vi. denariis & debet bis in anno prestare aratrum suum & ter in Augusto secare duabus vicibus cum .i. homine, Tercia cum omnibus suis ad cibum domini, & uxor Adelon .i. die. Stevulfus .ij. bouatas pro .ij. solidis . Vctebbrand similiter debet prestare quadrigam suam ad quadrigandum fenum dominicum. Aluricus cocus, Aluricus pistor, Ulwinus cementarius, quisque tenet .ij. bouatas pro .ij. solidis, & debet facere easdem consuetudines. Lepsi pistor, Alsius cocus, Vlsi

SURVEY A—*contd.*

sunt ad malam tenet Wardebois .ij. bouatas pro .ij. solidis. Ailricus .ij. bouatas pro .ij. solidis. Gladewinus .ij. bouatas pro .xxxvi. denariis. Stevulfus .ij. bouatas pro .ij. solidis. Aluricus .ij. bouatas & .i. croftam & .i. domum pro .ij. solidis. Vctebbrand .ij. bouatas pro .ij. solidis. Lepsi .i. bouatam pro .xij. denariis. Alsi .i. bouatam pro .xij. denariis. Godricus carpentarius .i. bouatam pro .xij. denariis. Item Terricus tenet .i. domum. Odardus .i. domum pro .xvi. denariis. Droet .i. domum pro .xvi. denariis. Willelmus cocus .i. domum pro .xvii. denariis. Gilebertus .i. domum pro .xvii. denariis. Aluricus .i. domum pro .xvi. denariis. Acelinus .i. domum & .i. acram terre pro .xij. denariis. Ælmer .i. domum pro .xvii. denariis. Godwinus .i. domum pro .xij. denariis. Leflet .i. domum pro .xij. denariis. Cacerel .i. domum pro .vi. denariis. Frawinus .i. domum pro .xvi. denariis.

Item Lepsi tenet .ij. molendina pro .xxxi. solidis. Summa horum est

Preter hæc tenet Vlsi in Scopenhalla .i. domum & .ij. acras terre & .i. acram prati pro .xij. denariis. Engelrannus in Burtona .i.

even of the grammatical construction of the passage. It may be that the next word, which Shaw and I have both transcribed as "domi," should be "domo"; if not, I suppose that "falda" must be the noun (understood) which "unaquaque" agrees.

SURVEY B—*contd.*

gardiner, Godricus carpentarius, quisque .i. bouatam pro .xij. denariis & debet predictas consuetudines. Wardebois .ij. bouatas & .iiij. acras prati pro solidatis suis; scilicet duobus solidis. Edeua soror Bruningi .i. cortillagium & .i. acram de Inlanda super quam manet. Hardwinus dimidiam acram pro .i. vano & .i. cana. Ricardus filius Godit .i. mansuram. Gilebertus .i. domum pro .xvi. denariis. Cacerel .i. domum pro .vi. denariis, Acelin .i. domum pro .xij. denariis. Item Recelbertus .iiij. acras de inlanda & hospitacionem suam desuper & dimidium altaris parochie exceptis candelis quas non habet sed inveniuntur sibi ad seruiendum; et habet .ij. mergites decime dominicorum aratorum & in Burtona & in Brontiston & in Stapenhulla, & in Wineshull, & in Wismere, & de Villanis Burtone & Stapenhull & Wineshull .i. trauiam de unoquoque & decimam pecorum eorum & percitracionem .i. monachi in curia. Item Gilebertus .i. domum pro .xvi. denariis. Godwinus .i. domum pro .xij. denariis. Willelmus .i. domum pro .xij. denariis. Mater Steinulfi .i. domum pro .xij. denariis. Acelinus .i. domum pro .xij. denariis. Item Mater Ricardi monachi manet super inlanda. Aluricus .i. domum pro .xij. denariis. Fromundus .i. domum pro .xij. denariis. Lepsi tenet .ij. Molendina pro .l. solidis

SURVEY A—*contd.*

domum pro .xij. denariis. Item Aluricus tenet in Burtona .iiij. acras terre & in Withmera .vij. de Inlanda & .i. acram prati pro .xviiij. denariis. Item Ælmer & Herlus & Semer quisque eorum in Sobenhalla tenet .i. domum & .iiij. acras terre & vnam acram prati pro .xij. denariis. Item in Burtona habet Wardebois .vi. acras de Inlanda pro .xviiij. denariis. Godwinus .i. bouatam pro .xviiij. denariis quam prius tenuit filius Ravecheti. Alfred .i. domum & .v. acras de inlanda & .i. prati pro .xij. denariis. Ernwi gardenarius domum & cortillagium pro .xij. denariis. Heort .i. domum pro .xij. denariis. Ailward copro .i. domum pro .xij. denariis. Ernwi uenator .i. domum ad opus. Hugo magnus .i. domum pro .xij. denariis. Ranulfus .i. domum pro .xij. denariis. Item in Sobenhalla habet Elmer filius Allici .iiij. acras de Inlanda pro .xij. denariis.

SURVEY B—*contd.*

a festo omnium sanctorum primi anni Galfridi abbatis usque ad .iiij. annos, & debet gratis molere frumentum & brasium dominicum & reddere pisces qui ibi capiuntur & Molendina tam bona restituere cum nouis molis quando deseret sicut erant quum accepit. Alured .i. domum pro .xvi. denariis. Walt .i. domum pro .vi. denariis. Widsi .i. domum & .i. acram pro .xij. denariis, & quamquam de Inlanda est, debet gildare Abbati & facere ceteras consuetudines. Godwinus .i. domum pro .iiij. ebdomadarum opere scilicet .ij. in estate & .ij. in quadragesima. Durandus .i. domum pro .xiiij. denariis. Summa est .xl.

Brantistona

IN Brantistona est inlande dimidia hida, ubi possunt esse aratra .iiij. Nunc sunt .ij. de .xvi. bobus. Equa .i. vacce .xxiv. Taurus .i. vituli .xiiij. animalia ociosa .vij. Terra hominum se defendit pro hida & dimidia . villani sunt Vlsi, Siricus, Vluricus, Alwinus, Edwinus, Bront, Osbernus, Redwi. Quisque horum tenet .ij. bouatas & facit omnes consuetudines quas faciunt villani Burtonae, nisi quia isti plus arant in quadragesima acram dimidiam quam illi. Id est .i. acram arant isti in quadragesima, Illi dimidiam, & non dant isti .ii. denarios pro quadrigis in lucum euntibus quod faciunt illi sicut predictum est. Godricus, Edricus

SURVEY A—*contd.***Brantistona**

IN Branlistona est tantum Inlande quantum satis est ad .ij. aratra in dominio. Terra hominum se defendit pro hida & dimidia. In terra Warlanda sunt .xi. bouate ad opus & .xv. ad malam, id est simul .xxvi. bouate. De hiis que sunt ad opus tenet Osbernus bouarius .i. bouatam. Ceteras id est .x. tenent quinque villani, id est vnus quisque .ij. bouatas. Preter istas tenet Brunning prepositus .ij. bouatas de Inlanda ad opus & Gildat Abbati. Item Gildenehele cotsetus habet .i. domum super inlandam & operatur .i. die. Edwinus bouarius .i. domum super inlandam. Walleus habet .xiiij. acras de Inlanda & .i. acram & dimidiam prati pro

SURVEY B—*contd.*

bouarii *quisque* habet .ij. bouatas. Osbernus bouarius .i. bouatam. Toli .i. bouatam pro .xv. denariis. Godricus colebras tenet .ij. bouatas pro .iiij. solidis.

¶ Censarii sunt isti. Willelmus de Tatenhulla tenet .ij. bouatas pro .ij. solidis. Aluredus parmentarius .ij. bouatas pro .ij. solidis. Vlwinus .ij. bouatas pro .iiij. solidis & debent facere *consuetudines* quas faciunt censarii *Burton*. Ormus tenet de Warlanda .viiij. bouatas & habet sub se .vij. homines terram tenentes, vnusquisque eorum .i. bouatam & septimus .ij. bouatas. Item tenet de inlanda .xxiiij. acras terre & .xvi. prati. Debet ire ad placita & ad comitatus & ad Wapentas & in exercitus & ubicumque missus fuerit uel cum Abbate uel sine Abbate & debet iiij perticas ad curiam & .ij. ad lucum & vadit ad cazas quando precipitur, & bis in anno prestat aratrum suum, & ter in Augusto secat cum omnibus suis. Tracemusca .ij. bouatas pro .ij. solidis. Godwinus flauus .ij. bouatas pro .iiij. solidis. Aluered, wasta terra est, .ij. bouatas pro .ij. oris. Aschetillus Wardebois habet de Inlanda .ij. bouatas pro .ij. solidis & pro seruicio suo. In luco sunt iij Wodecokeres in dominio. Summa est

SURVEY A—*contd.*

.xviiij. denarius & hoc est ultra firmam. Item preter hec tenet Ormus .viiij. bouatas de Warlanda & .iiij. de Inlanda.

Porro de hiis que sunt ad malam tenet Godwinus flauus .ij. bouatas de Warlanda, & .i. acram de Inlanda pro .iiij. solidis. Tracemusca .ij. bouatas de Warlanda & .iiij. acras terre & .i. prati de Inlanda pro .iiij. solidis. Vlsi .ij. bouatas de Warlanda & .i. acram de Inlanda pro .iiij. solidis. Vlwinus .ij. bouatas de Warlanda & .i. Cortilagium pro .iiij. solidis. Calebras .ij. bouatas pro .iiij. solidis. Alured .ij. bouatas pro .xxxij. denariis. Willelmus de Tatenhulla .ij. bouatas pro .ij. solidis. Aschetillus .i. bouatam pro .xviiij. denariis. Toli .i. bouatam de Inlanda pro .xv. denariis. Wardebois .i. bouatam de inlanda sine crofta pro .xij. denariis. Summa est .xxiiij. solidi & .v. denarii. In luco sunt .iiij. vdecokeres in dominio. Item partem luci pertinentis ad Brantistonam tenet Robertus de ferrers pro .xx. solidis, & pro exclusagio in Eginton habente .xxiiij. pedes de certa terra quod debebat nobis in conuencionem, reddidit in dominium nostrum post mortem Arfasti quietam & solutam Tichenhalam quam tenebat de nobis pro .x. solidis.

¶ Terram huius manerii preter lucum & haias & preter terram que fuit Tracemusche, que omnia retin-

SURVEY B—*contd.*

Stratona

IN Stratona est tantum Inlande ubi possunt esse aratra .iij. Nunc sunt .ij. de .xvi. bobus. Equa & pullus. Terra hominum se defendit pro hida & dimidia. Villani sunt, Leuricus prepositus, Algarus filius eius, Alueua, Raura, Alwardus, Godwinus, Leuenot, Meriet, Baldwinus, Erneisus, Ordricus, Edwinus, alter Leuenot, Lewinus Wite, Walterus bouarius, Ailwi, Edricus, Edmundus faber. Quisque horum tenet .ij. bouatas & operatur .ij. diebus in ebdomada, & facit omnes consuetudines quas et villani Burtoni, nisi quia illi ut predictum est arant in quadragesima dimidiam acram. Isti uero vnam totam integram.

Gilbertus

¶ Censarii sunt, Vlnodus cementarius tenet .ij. bouatas de Warlanda & .ij. de Inlanda

SURVEY A—*contd.*

uit Abbas in manu sua habet Edricus Monachus ad firmam pro .c. solidis quoque anno. Terram que fuit Tracemusce, id est .ij. bouatas, tenet Herbertus pro .iij. solidis. Terram que fuit Ormi habent .iij. filii eius hoc modo. Vuietus habet .ij. bouatas pro .ij. solidis & debet facere consuetudines ceterorum censariorum. Rauen & leysingus habent ceteram terram, id est .vi. bouatas de Warlanda, & .iiij. de Inlanda pro .viiij. [sic] quoque anno, & debet ire ad Offelawe hundred & preter hoc facere omnia sicut ceteri censarii.

Stratona

IN Stratona est tantum Inlande quantum satis est ad .ij. aratra fortissima in dominio. Terra hominum se defendit pro hida & dimidia. In terra Warlanda sunt .xxxij. bouate ad opus & inter Warlandam & Inlandam .xxxij. ad malam, id est inter totum .lxiiij. bouate. De hiis que sunt ad opus tenet Leuericus prepositus .ij. bouatas, Eilmundus faber .ij. bouatas. Ormus halesoen .ij. bouatas. Quatuor bouarii .viiij. bouatas. Ceteras id est .xviiij. tenent villani .ix. id est vnusquisque .ij. bouatas. Robertus habet .i. domum super Inlandam & vxor eius operatur .i. die.

¶ Porro de hiis que sunt ad malam tenet Willelmus .v. bouatas de Warlanda & .ix. acras terre de Inlanda & .iij. acras prati & quod-

SURVEY B—*contd.*

pro .vi. solidis. Ailwardus .ij. bouatas pro .ij. solidis & debet .ij. perticas ad curiam & .ij. ad lucum, & bis in anno prestare aratrum, & ter in Augusto secare cum suis. Edricus de fonte .ij. bouatas de Warlanda & .iiij. acras terre de Inlanda & .iiij. prati pro .iiij. solidis & debet .ij. perticas ad curiam & .ij. ad lucum & bis prestare aratrum & ter secare. Willelmus Gamal .v. bouatas de Warlanda & .ix. acras terre de Inlanda & .iiij. prati pro .vij. solidis, & debet .v. perticas ad curiam & .v. ad lucum, & ceteras consuetudines. Hugo le sele .iiij. bouatas pro .vi. solidis & .iiij. denariis, & debet .iiij. perticas ad curiam & .iiij. ad lucum & predictas consuetudines. filius Algari .i. bouatam de Warlanda & gildum regis, & Edricus .iiij. bouatas de Inlanda pro .x. solidis & debet Abbati de Inlanda gildum regis, & .iiij. perticas ad curiam & .iiij. ad lucum cum supradictis consuetudinibus.

¶ Steinchete homo ormi de Acoure .iiij. bouatas de Warlanda & .ij. de de [*sic*] Inlanda pro .vi. solidis & debet .vi. perticas ad curiam & .vi. ad lucum, & ceteras predictorum consuetudines. Edwinus tenet .ij. Molendina pro .xxv. solidis & salmone, usque ad .iiij. annos & postea pro .xxx. solidis. Vasta terra est masure .iiij. id est .vij. bouate. De hiis habet Aschetillus de Castello .ij. bouatas pro .ij.

SURVEY A—*contd.*

dam uirgultum pironum pro .viiij. solidis. Andreas .iiij. bouatas de Warlanda & .ij. de Inlanda quas Ormus habuit, & item alias duas de Warlanda, id est .viiij. bouatas simul, pro .viiij. solidis. Gilebertus .ij. bouatas de Warlanda & .ij. de Inlanda pro .vi. solidis. Hugo le sele .iiij. bouatas de Warlanda & .xxiiij. acras terre & .iiij. prati de Inlanda pro .vi. solidis. Edricus filius Algaris .ij. bouatas de Warlanda & .iiij. Inlanda pro .x. solidis, & pro hiis .iiij. gildat Abbati. Edricus de fonte .ij. bouatas de Warlanda & .vi. acras de Inlanda pro .iiij. solidis. Osbernus .ij. bouatas de Warlanda pro .iiij. solidis. Toui .i. domum & .i. cortillagium & .i. acram terre & .i. acram prati de Inlanda pro .xij. denariis. Edwinus tenet molendinum pro .xx. solidis. Ordricus filius Algaris .ij. bouatas pro .iiij. solidis quas prius tenuit Rauen ad opus.

¶ Preter hec tenet Willelmus .ij. bouatus de Warlanda, id est terram Merget & .ij. bouatas de Inlanda pro seruicio corporis sui. Item Eilmundus faber .ij. bouatas pro .iiij. solidis quas prius tenebat vnus bouarius. Item Rauen filius leuerici .ij. bouatas de Inlanda pro .iiij. solidis, & debet geldare Abbati. Item Algar .ij. bouatas de Warlanda ad opus. has .iiij. bouatas prius habuit Gilebertus. prefate .ij. bouate quas tenet Eilmundus carent crofta & prato. Item

SURVEY B—*contd.*

fo. x solidis. ¶ Quatuor bouarii in
 x Stratona Lewinus Wite, Walterus,
 Alwi, Elricus, & vnus in Wismere
 scilicet Leuericus, quisque habet .ij.
 bouatas & .iiij. acras seminatas
 pro officio suo & vxores eorum
 operantur .i. die. Acras autem
 debent reddere seminatas quando
 deserent boues. Eilmundus faber
 .ij. bouatas pro .xvi. denariis.
 Brand .ij. bouatas pro .xxxij.
 denariis. Toui surdus .i. domum
 & .i. acram prati & .i. agri pro
 .xij. denariis. Algar .ij. bouatas
 pro .ij. solidis. Hugo magnus .vi.
 bouatas pro viij. solidis. Edric
 foresterius .ij. bouatas pro .iiij.
 solidis in Horling [Horninglow].

Withmere

IN Withmere est tantum inlande
 ubi possunt esse aratra .iiij. Nunc
 sunt .ij. de .xvi. bobus, vacce .xxij.
 Taurus .i. vituli .xiiij. animalia
 ociosa .x. Terra hominum se
 defendit pro hida & dimidia.
 Villani sunt, Ailmarus, Gladwinus,
 Almarus, Edricus, Alwinus, Edri-
 cus, Alwardus, Godwinus, Leu-
 ericus bouarius. Quisque tenet .ij.
 bouatas & operatur .ij. diebus, &

SURVEY A—*contd.*

Alwin cotsetus habet .i. domum &
 .i. croftam de Inlanda, & .i. acram
 prati & operatur .i. die, & Ormus
 faber habet illam domum & illam
 croftam de Warlanda in Horl'
 [Horninglow] & illam acram
 prati pro .xij. denariis siue pro
 opere .ij. aratrorum quam prius
 habebat prefatus Ailwinus ad opus.
 ¶ Item in Stratona habet Edwin-
 us molendinarius terram que fuit
 Gamel, id est .ij. bouatas pro
 .iiij. solidis. Ernwi .i. bouatam
 ad opus quam prius tenuit Willel-
 mus cocus ad malam. Soen .ij.
 acras & dimidiam de Inlanda pro
 .iiij. denariis. Item .viiij. acras, id
 est .i. bouatam, pro .xij. denariis.
 Algar .i. domum & .i. cortillagium
 & .i. acram & .i. acram prati de
 Inlanda ad opus quod prius tenuit
 Toui pro .xij. denariis. Ailwinus
 halsoen habet .iiij. acras terre &
 .i. acram prati de Inlanda pro
 .xij. denariis, quamdiu fuerit hal-
 soen & deinde ad opus.

Withmere Horninglow

IN Wismera & Horninglow est fo. vi
 tantum Inlande quantum satis est
 ad .ij. aratra fortissima in dominio.
 Terra hominum se defendit pro
 hida & dimidia. In terra War-
 landa sunt .xiiij. bouate ad opus &
 .xxvij. ad malam, id est inter
 totum .xl. bouate.

De hiis que sunt ad opus tenet
 Ailwinus bouarius .ij. bouatas in
 Wismera & Batus .i. in Horl'

SURVEY B—*contd.*

faciunt omnes *consuetudines* quas villani de Burtona, nisi quia non dant denarios propter quadrigas in lucum euntes. Item Godricus habet .ij. bouatas de terra cotsetorum & facit similiter. Soen hachepin .i. bouatam de terra cotsetorum, & operatur .i. die & facit ceteras *consuetudines*. Sewi bouarius .i. bouatam de terra cotsetorum & similiter facit. Gildum regis de hac terra cotsetorum quicumque eam habeat, siue villanus siue Censarius, debet ire in marsupium Abbatis, in qua terra sunt .xij. bouate. ¶ Censarii sunt isti. Fromundus tenet .iiij. bouatas de terra Cotsetorum pro .iiij. solidis & pro servicio corporis sui, & debet dare Abbati gildum regium. Willelmus de Sobehalla .i. bouatam de terra cotsetorum pro .xij. denariis, & similiter gildat Abbati, & debet ire ubicumque precipitur uel cum Abbate uel sine Abbate. Lepsi .ij. bouatas de terra cotsetorum pro .ij. solidis & dat Abbati similiter gildum regium. Godricus colebras .ij. bouatas de terra cotsetorum pro .iiij. solidis, & dat Abbati gildum Regis & debet .ij. perticas ad curiam & .ij. ad lucum, & bis in anno prestare aratrum suum & ter in Augusto secare cum omnibus suis. Item Vluricus de Horninglow habet de Warlanda .iiij. bouatas pro .iiij. solidis & debet .iiij. perticas ad curiam & .iiij. ad lucum, & bis in anno prestare aratrum & ter in Augusto secare cum omnibus

SURVEY A—*contd.*

[Horninglow]. Ceteras, id est .x. tenent quinque villani, id est vnusquisque .ij. bouatas, Gladwinus scilicet .ij. in Horninglow, & ceteri quatuor .viiij. in Wismere. Item Ailwinus presbyter in Wismera .i. domum & .i. croftam de Inlanda & operatur .i. die. Willelmus vaccarius in Wismera .i. domum & .i. croftam de Inlanda & operatur .i. die. Item in Wismera ij. crofte de Inlanda, altera cum domo altera sine domo, sunt inhospitate. Vna de hiis croftis que est cum domo habet Gamel pro .viiij. denariis & in Augusto operatur .viiij. diebus. Porro de hiis qui sunt ad malam tenet Radulfus filius Willelmi dimidiam hidam sicut Inlande in Wismera pro .vi. solidis & .vi. denariis. Item in Horl' [Horninglow] Ermer .iiij. bouatas pro .vi. solidis. Fromundus .iiij. bouatas de Warlanda & .ij. croftas & dimidiam de Inlanda pro .iiij. solidis. Frawinus .ij. bouatas pro .ij. solidis. Ailwinus .ij. bouatas pro .iiij. solidis. Edricus equarius & forestarius .ij. bouatas pro .iiij. solidis. Gladwinus .i. croftam sine domo. Item in Wismera Ailwardus cados .i. bouatam sine crofta pro .xij. denariis & pro opere .viiij. dierum in Augusto. Erbrant .i. domum & .i. croftam de Inlanda pro .xij. denariis & pro opere .viiij. dierum in Augusto. Item in Wismera habet Godwinus ad opus cum terra sua illam

SURVEY B—*contd.*

suis, and *preter hoc ire ubicumque preceptum fuerit, uel cum Abbate uel sine Abbate.* Godricus frater eius .ij. bouatas de Inlanda & .ij. de Warlanda pro .iiiiij. solidis & debet facere omnino similiter, & *preter hoc dare Abbati gildum regis de .ij. bouatis inlande.* Leuine mater eorum .ij. bouatas pro .ij. solidis cum predictis consuetudinibus & perticarum & arandi & secandi. Item Frawinus Bracedorius habet .ij. bouatas pro .iiij. solidis, & debet facere predictas consuetudines nisi perdonentur ei, & .i. domum cum .ij. acris terre. Willelmus cocus .v. bouatas pro .v. solidis. Vluricus .ij. bouatas pro .xviij. denariis, & consuetudinibus, & debet Abbati geldare quia tenet de terra cotsetorum. Willelmus de Roluestona tenet dimidiam hidam pro .vi. solidis, quam adquietat de gildo Regis. Fullo .i. domum pro .xij. denariis. Elmer .iiiiij. bouatas pro .iiiiij. solidis cum supradictis consuetudinibus.¹ Ailwardus cados .i. bouatam absque crofta pro .xiiiij. denariis. Alter Ailwardus domum & cortillagium pro .viij. denariis. Willelmus vaccarius .ij. bouatas pro .ij. solidis. Summa est

SURVEY A—*contd.*

croftam quam prius habuit Ailwinus presbyter ad malam. Semer habet croftam cum domo quam prius habuit Fullo & operatur .i. die. Item habet ibi quoddam uirgultum pro .xij. denariis. Siwardus .i. bouatam ad opus quam prius tenuit Frawinus pro .xij. denariis. Item in Horl' [Horninglow] habet Elmer .iiij. bouatas pro .iiij. solidis & domum in Burtona. Item in Horl' [Horninglow] habet Frawinus .i. domum, & .i. croftam pro .xij. denariis quam prius tenuit Godwinus & iterum .vi. acras terre de Inlanda & .ij. acras prati pro .xij. denariis. Doningus .ij. bouatas ad opus quas prius tenuit ad malam. Aluric filius Bate habet .i. domum & .i. croftam de Inlanda in Horl' [Horninglow] & .i. acram prati pro .viiij. denariis quod prius habuit Alwinus ad opus & Item habet .i. bouatam ad opus sine domo quam prius tenuit Aluricus pistor pro .xij. denariis.

Item in Wismera Hugo magnus dimisit .ij. bouatas quas habuit postea Aluricus pistor pro .ij. solidis. Preter hec Leuericus prepositus habet parum terre que uocatur Bolehale & .iiij. acras de Inlanda apud Dodeslawe pro .xviij. denariis. Preter hec tenet Fro-mundus in Horl' [Horninglow]

¹ According to the printed edition, the words "Elmer filius Allici .ij. b. pro .iiij. s." follow here with a line through them. I have no note of this in my own transcription, but I have no reason to doubt General Wrottesley's accuracy as regards this.

SURVEY B—*contd.***Bromlega**

IN Bromlega est tantum Inlanda ubi possunt esse .ij. aratra. Habetur .i. aratrum de .viiij. bobus. Equus .i. Terra hominum se defendit pro dimidia hida, sed de hac R. de ferrers octauum denarium pro .iiiiij. bouatis quas inde habet. Villani sunt Sewinus, Edricus, Leuricus, ~~Ailricus~~ [erased sic], Ailwinus, alter Ailwinus. Vnusquisque tenet .ij. bouatas & operatur .ij. diebus in ebdomada, & inuenit auras ad summagium, & reddit .vij. denarios pro falda, & bis arat in anno & ter secat in Augusto & facit brasium & uadit ad summagium pro sale & pro pisce aut reddit .ij. denarios pro utroque. ¶ Censarii sunt Alricus, Ormus, Edricus, quisque horum tenet .iiiiij. bouatas pro .iiiiij. solidis & debet .iiiiij. perticas ad Burton & .iiiiij. ad lucum, & bis prestat aratrum & ter in Augusto secat cum omnibus suis, & vadit ad cazas quando opus est. Item Bricstin & Bricstoaldus quisquis .ij. bouatas pro .ij. solidis, & faciunt

SURVEY A—*contd.*

.xij. acras de Inlanda id est .i. bouatam pro .xij. denariis. Item Baldwinus de Whithmere .v. acras terre & .i. acram prati pro .xij. denariis. Item Dunningus in Horl' [Horninglow] suam domum & croftam quam prius habebat Fromundus & .iiij. acras de Inlanda ad emendacionem terre sue.

Bromlega

IN Bromlega est Inlanda ad .ij. aratra in dominio. Terra hominum se defendit pro dimidia hida. Inter Inlandam & Warlandam sunt .xxxij. bouate preter dominium quas tenent homines hoc modo. Aisculf presbyter tenet ecclesiam & .ij. bouatas de Warlanda quietas iacentes ad eam, & preter hoc antequam esset manerium ad firmam tenuerat eciam .xxx. acras de Inlanda pro .ij. solidis. Vluricus tenet .ij. bouatas de Inlanda pro .iiiiij. solidis. Godwinus tenet .iiiiij. bouatas de Warlanda pro .vi. solidis. Ormus .iiiiij. bouatas pro .vi. solidis. Bristoaldus .ij. bouatas pro .iiiiij. solidis. Leuericus .ij. bouatas pro .iiiiij. solidis. Bristui .ij. bouatas pro .iiiiij. solidis. Torum .ij. bouatas pro .iiiiij. solidis. Sewi .ij. bouatas pro .iiiiij. solidis. Ailwinus fot .ij. bouatas pro .iiiiij. solidis. Edricus .ij. bouatas pro .iiiiij. solidis. Alter Edricus scilicet forestarius .ij. bouatas pro .iiij. solidis. Meriet .ij. bouatas pro .iiij. solidis. Steinulfus .i. bouatam

SURVEY B—*contd.*

easdem consuetudines. Item Assol presbyter tenet ecclesiam & .ij. bouatas. Preter hec .xxx. acras de Inlanda.

Item Vluricus habet de Inlanda .ij. bouatas pro .ij. solidis & facit predictas consuetudines. Edricus habet de Inlanda .vi. acras. ¶ Hoc manerium habent homines ad firmam pro .lxx. solidis in quibus computant .vi. solidos quos habent de decima Neutone, quam decimam dat eis Radulfus filius Vnoi de villa sua propter .i. carrucatum quam tenet in Hantona de Abbate. Silua tota est extra firmam.

[*In margin, in later hand-writing.*] Isti debent claudere circa hayam de Bromlega, Ricardus . . . (?) .ij. rodas, Johannes Celestr' (?) .ij. rodas, Hugo de Jokesat .ij. rodas, Andreas Paris .ij. rodas, Lynr' Malneys (?) .ij. rodas, Petrus Malneys (?) .ij. rodas, Robertus Fraxino .ij. rodas, Adam Sayl .ij. rodas, Ricardus Millilant (?) .i. rodam, Agnes ad lake (?) .i. rodam, Ricardus Palmer, Johannes Louelof (?) .i. rodam, Ricardus Gerard .ij. rodas, Wilde .i. rodam, Hawis .i. rodam. Tantum debet quisque de iure claudere apud Burton.

SURVEY A—*contd.*

pro .ij. solidis. Godricus carpentarius .i. bouatam pro .ij. solidis. Molendinum reddit .viiij. solidos. Summa est lxiij solidi.

Hoc manerium excepto luco quem Abbas retinuit in manu sua habent ad firmam usque ad .xx. annos pro .c. solidis, Aisculf presbyter, Godwinus, Bristoaldus, Leuricus, & Ormus, nisi quia computantur in firmam eorum .iiij. solidi de Edrico forestario. Postea tamen hoc dimissum est de Edrico & prece eorum concessit eis Abbas hayas & herbam earum ad nutrienda pecora sua omnino absque uastacione luci per [*sic*] .x. solidos quoque anno, & per bonitates equiuales aliis .x. solidis, & debent ipsi esse forestarii & custodes siluarum.

[*In margin:* Item Ernaldus habet .xvi. acras de Inlanda pro .xl. denariis.]

Hantona

Item habemus in Staffordscira .i. carrucatum terre que vocatur Hantona quam dedit ecclesie nostre Meriet pater noster. Hanc terram

SURVEY B—*contd.*

Acoura

IN Acoure *est tantum Inlande* ubi *potest esse* .i. aratrum. Terra hominum & in Acoure & in Ylum se *defendit pro* .iiij. uirgatis, & in Warlanda Acoure possunt esse duo aratra. Lewinus habet .i. carrucatum pro seruiçio suo & habet sub se duos homines. De altera carrucata tenet Swegnus .ij. bouatas pro .xv. denariis, Lewinus .ij. bouatas pro .xv. denariis, Aelstanus & Chenewardus hii duo .ij. bouatas pro .xv. denariis. Tres cotseti sunt qui operantur .i. die. Molendinum valet .iiij. solidos. In dominio sunt .ij. bouate de Warlanda.

Ylum

IN Ylum non *est nisi* Warlanda, nec *est quicquam* in dominio, .xvi. autem bouate sunt. Tedwi .ij. bouatas pro .ij. solidis. Lewinus

SURVEY A—*contd.*

Radulfus filius Vruoi pro seruiçio corporis sui. Ita scilicet ut sit ad placita Abbatis in eadem syra ^x quocienscumque fuerit aduenienter submonitus. Ipse autem Radulfus concessit eidem ecclesie decimam suam in Neutona de toto dominio suo siue in segete siue in pecore & pro ipsa decima debet dare .vij. solidos quoque anno ad festiuitatem sancte Moduenne virginis.

Item in Staffordia .ij. mansuvas terre quas habet Steinwinus homo noster pro .xvi. denariis.

Acoura

IN Acoure *est inlanda* ad .i. aratrum. Terra hominum inter Acouram & Ylum se *defendit pro* .iiij. uirgatis. In Acoura sunt de terra Warlanda .xvi. bouate, & molendinum quod reddit .iiij. solidos. Item sunt in Ylum de terra Warlanda .xvi. bouate & molendinum quod reddit .x. solidos. Hanc terram id *est* & Acouram & Ylum tenet Ormus ad firmam pro .xxvi. solidis & .viiij. denariis.

Ylum

Item in Ylum habemus ecclesiam & terram ad eam iacentem, id *est* .i. carrucatum terre, and & preter hanc .xviij. acras in tribus croftis

SURVEY B—*contd.*

Gup .ij. bouatas .ij. bouatas [*sic*] pro .xvi. denariis. Alter Lewinus .ij. bouatas pro .xvi. denariis. Vlwardus faber .i. bouatam pro .xvi. denariis. Huningus .i. bouatam pro .xij. denariis. Griffin .i. bouatam pro .xij. denariis. Bertrich tenet tantum terre vnde reddit .vi. solidos. Molendinum reddit .x. solidos.

Acoura

Item Acoura cum appendiciis suis se deffendit [*sic*] pro dimidia hida & .i. virgata. Hanc tenet Ormus pro .xx. oris & cum ea eciam Ylum preter ecclesiam & terram ad eam iacentem que ecclesia & terra est Abbatis.

SURVEY A—*contd.*

& adhuc partem terre que uocatur hagenleia.

Waterfala

IN Waterfala sunt .ij. bouate terre quas dedit nobis Aschetillus dispensator quietas & solutas ab omni seruicio & posuit super altare per unum cultellum, & hoc idem concessit in capitulo Galfridus filius eius & recepti sunt ipsi & vxor eiusdem Aschetilli defuncta in communiione fraterne societatis & oracionum & beneficiorum etc. (?).

Lega

IN Lega est tantum Inlande que potest arari cum debito adiutorio hominum. Aratra .ij. sunt de .xvi. bobus. Equus & equa.

Lega

IN Lega est tantum Inlande quantum satis est ad .ij. aratra fortia in dominio. Terra hominum inter Legam & feldam se defendit

SURVEY B—*contd.*

Vacce .xxij. Tauri .ij. Vituli .xi. Ociosa animalia .xvij. Capre .lxxx. porci .xxvij. Terra hominum se defendit pro .i. hida quinta parte minus, quam quintam partem habet Mainus brito. Villani sunt Soenus, Rainaldus, Ailwinus, alter Ailwinus, Lemarus, Godwinus, Ordricus, Alricus, Saroi, Vluiet, Vlfac, Ricardus. Quisque tenet .ij. bouatas & operatur .ij. diebus in ebdomada & inuenit auram ad summagium & ter prestat aratrum ad tremeis & ter in Augusto secat cum suis. Vluiet hoc anno .xvij. denarios. ¶ Censarii sunt isti. Auiet tenet .i. carrucatum terre pro .vij. solidis & ter in quadragesima prestat aratrum suum & ad falcandum .i. hominem de propria domo & .i. similiter de vnaque domo villanorum suorum & ter in Augusto secat cum suis. Leuegrinus tenet .ij. bouatas pro .ij. solidis & facit similiter. Osbernus .iiij. bouatas pro .iiij. solidis & facit similiter. Ricardus .iiij. bouatas pro .iiij. solidis & facit similiter. Awardus .i. carrucatum pro .vi. solidis & facit predictas consuetudines. Gosfridus .i. carrucatum pro .vij. solidis cum consuetudinibus. Carrucata .i. iacet ad¹ ecclesiam.

Edricus tenet molendinum pro .iiij. solidis. vasta est .i. carrucata. De hac tamen habet Alwinus .ij.

SURVEY A—*contd.*

pro .ij. virgatis. In Lega sunt de terra Warlanda .xxiiij. bouate ad opus & .xlij. ad malam & .vij. quiete ad ecclesiam, id est inter totum .lxxiiij. bouate. De hiis que sunt ad opus tenent .xij. villani plenarii .xxiiij. bouatas, id est vnusquisque .ij. bouatas ¶ Porro de hiis que sunt ad malam tenet Gosfridus .vij. bouatas pro .vij. solidis, preter illam terram que ad ecclesiam iacet, quam tenet cum ecclesia ad opus fratris sui paruuli, cum ad id etatis uenerit ut possit & debeat seruire ipsi ecclesie. Item Auietus tenet .vij. bouatas pro .vij. solidis. Awardus .vij. bouatas pro .vi. solidis. Osbernus .iiij. bouatas pro .iiij. solidis. Ricardus .iiij. bouatas pro .iiij. solidis. Aileua .iiij. bouatas pro .iiij. solidis. Leuegrinus .ij. bouatas pro .ij. solidis. Leuricus .ij. bouatas pro .ij. solidis. Ailwinus .ij. bouatas pro .ij. solidis. Preter hos ² Edricus tenet molendinum pro .iiij. solidis. Summa est .xliij. solidi.

¶ Hoc manerium tenent ad firmam Godricus & Wlfricus usque ad annos .xvi. pro .c. solidis quoque anno, & potest ibi habere Abbas in custodia eorum vnam herdewicam de quantiscumque vaccis sibi placuerit. similiter autem & porcheriam vnam sic enim est

¹ "jacet ad" means "belongs to," and in Domesday is generally used in the sense of "pays its geld at."

² See *post*, p. 227.

SURVEY B—*contd.*

bouatas pro .ij. solidis cum predictis consuetudinibus. Aileua .iiij. *bouatas pro .ij. solidis.* Hoc manerium habet Ormus ad firmam pro .c. *solidis usque ad annos .xvi.*

felda

felda se defendit pro .i. *carrucata & iacet ad Lege hidam.* Terra in dominio est vnus aratri. Terra hominum .xx. *bouate.* ¶ Censarii sunt Collingus, Seigotus, Leuricus, Elungus, Edricus, Godwinus, Vluricus, quisque horum tenet .ij. *bouatas pro .ij. solidis & in quadragesima arat & herzat .i. acram & in estate prestat .i. hominem .i. die ad falcandum ad cibum domini ad terciam, & in Augusto bis .i.*
fo. xi *hominem ad secundum & dat pasnagium.* Tres mansure sunt uaste & sunt domus desuper, id est .vi. *bouate inhospitate.* Edeua est bordaria & operatur .i. die. Est alia domus in qua manet .i. *medicus.* Hoc manerium est ad firmam pro .xx. *solidis.*

Derlauestona

IN Derlauestona est tantum Inlande ubi possunt esse .ij. *aratra.* Terra hominum se defendit pro .iiij. *uirgatis* in quibus sunt .ix.

SURVEY A—*contd.*

in conuencione ipsorum. Preter hec extra firmam eorum, homo Osberni de Chakele habet vnam domum & .i. *croftam & parum luci pro .ij. solidis vnoquoque anno.*

≡ Item in lega liuingus habet parum terra de Inlanda pro .xij. *denariis*

felda

Item in felda sunt de terra Warlanda .xxviiij. *bouate.* Ex hiis sunt in dominio .viiij. *bouate,* id est terra ad .i. *aratum.* Ceteras, id est .xx. *bouatas,* tenent homines ipsius villule. Hanc terram habet Andreas ad firmam pro .xx. *solidis quoque anno, & eum solum iudicem inuenit Abbas ad placita Regis in Staffordscira.*

Item Edda tenet Dadesleiam id est *bouatas*¹ de Warlanda & .ij. *culturas* de Inlanda & quandam partem luci pro .xx. *solidis quoque anno,* ex quibus computantur in firmam Godrici & Vlurici .xviiij. *solidi quia & hec terra ad legam pertinet.*

Derlauestona

fo. vij

IN Derlauestona est tantum Inlande quantum satis est ad .ij. *aratra fortia* in dominio. Terra hominum se defendit pro .iiij.

¹ The omitted word should be "xx." Cf. the deed in the Cartulary, p. 34.

SURVEY B—*contd.*

Ware, sex hospitate, tres uaste. In sex hospitatis sedent homines .xij. e quibus .xi. reddunt censum .xxiiij. solidos. Duodecimus R. [*qu.* for Raccheristus] habet .i. Waram pro seruicio suo. Tres sunt cotseti qui operantur .i. die & vnus faber est qui operatur ad aratra. Molendinum valet iiij^{or} solidos. Darlaueston se defendit pro dimidia hida & .i. virgata. hanc tenet Ormus pro .xl. solidis.

Witestona

IN Witeslona sunt .viiij. acre de Inlanda. Terra Warlanda se defendit pro .i. hida. Sex Ware sunt. Tres in dominio ubi possunt esse .ij. aratra. Tres homines habent .vi. ad opus, quisque dimidiam Waram, & operantur duobus diebus & reddunt .iiij. denarios ad festum sancti Martini, preter hos .i. ioculator & .i. parmentarius. ¶ Will' (?)¹ .lxxxv. equas vaccas .x. .i. carrucam (?)² & dimidiam Oues .l. Item Witestona se defendit pro .i. hida, hanc tenet Nablus pro .x. solidis.

Bedintona & Pilatehala

Bedintona & Pilatehala se defendit pro dimidia hida hanc

SURVEY A—*contd.*

virgatis. In terra Warlande sunt .ix. Ware, & molendinum bonum ibi est. Hanc terram habet Ormus ad firmam pro .lx. solidis.

Witestona

IN Witestona sunt .viiij. acre de Inlanda. Terra Warlanda se defendit pro .i. hida, & sunt in ea .vi. Ware. Ex quibus Waris tres sunt in dominio ubi possunt esse .ij. aratra. Ceteras .iiij. tenent .vi. villani ad opus, quisque scilicet dimidiam Waram, & quisque operatur .ij. diebus, & quisque reddit .iiij. denarios ad festum sancti Martini. Hanc terram habet Nauenus ad firmam pro .x. solidis.

Bedintona & Pilatehala

Bedintona & Pilatehala se defendit pro dimidia hida. In

¹ *Sic.*, if my transcription is correct. Notwithstanding the mark of a new paragraph, General Wrottesley may possibly have been right in connecting this name with the preceding sentence, or we may both have misunderstood the word. One would expect here either the name of some animal or else some such verb as "*habent.*"

² A plough-team and a half would be equivalent to 12 oxen, and this is evidently what is meant here.

SURVEY B—*contd.*

quia uasta est tenet Edwinus pro .iiij. solidis, Que si esset hospitata redderet .v. horas. Alteram *quia* hospitata est habet idem Edwinus pro .vi. horis.

Derbisira

Oufra maior

IN Oufra maiore est tantum inlande que potest arari cum debito adiutorio hominum in vno anno per .iiij. aratra in altero per .iiij. Nunc sunt aratra .iiij^{or.} de .xxxij. bobus, equa .i. Terra hominum se defendit pro .iiij. carrucatis. Villani sunt Godricus, Ormerus, Aluricus, Godwinus, Vluiet, Edwinus, alter Aluricus, Leuonius, Ordricus, Vlfac, alter Edwinus, alter Leuricus, Villanus Edrici, Adelwi, Vluiet, Vluinus, Willelmus, Collingus. Vnusquisque horum tenet .ij. bouatas terre & operatur .ij. diebus in ebdomada & portat summagium ad hortum quando precipitur & prestat aratrum suum semel in hieme & bis post Natale, & debet ire pro sale & pro piscibus aut dare .ij. denarios pro utroque summagio, & iterum debet aut equum aut .iiij. denarios propter iter Abbatis ad curiam. Item unusquisque arat in quadragesima dimidiam acram & in ebdomada ante pentecostem debet facere claudas dominicas & mittere pro-

SURVEY A—*contd.*

Bedintona est Inlanda ad .i. aratrum, id est .viiij. bovate. In Pilatehala est Warlanda nihilo minus ad .i. aratrum, id est similiter .viiij. bouate. Inter inlandam itaque & Warlandam sunt in Bedintona & Pilatehala simul .xvi. bouate. Hanc terram habet Edwinus ad firmam pro .xx. solidis.

Oufra magna

IN magna Oufra est tantum Inlande quantum satis est ad .iiij. aratra fortia in dominio. Terra hominum se defendit pro .iiij. carrucatis. In terra Warlanda sunt quinquaginta due bouate ad opus, & .xxiiij. ad malam, & .iiij. quiete ad ecclesiam, id est inter totum .lxxvi. bouate.

¶ De hiis que sunt ad opus tenet Aluricus prepositus .ij., Alfac faber .ij., Quinque bouarii .x. Ceteras id est .xxxviiij. bouatas tenent villani .xix. id est unusquisque .ij. bouatas. Item Alfac faber tenet .viiij. acras de Inlanda & .i. prati pro opere .iiij. aratrorum.

¶ Porro de hiis que sunt ad malam tenet Godricus presbyter .ij. bouatas pro .iiij. solidis. Norman .ij. bouatas pro .iiij. solidis. Leuenot .ij. bouatas pro .iiij. solidis. Tochi .vi. bouatas pro .viij. solidis. Willelmus .iiij. bouatas pro .iiij. solidis. Alter Willelmus .i. bouatam sine crofta pro .xvi. denariis. Ordricus .iiij. bouatas pro .iiij. solidis. Godwinus de finderna

SURVEY B—*contd.*

pria animalia usque ad festum sancti Martini & KP (?) [qu. Kalendas] Augusti debet accipere duos de suis bobus extra faldam quietos & propter hoc debet opus .i. diei & alium diem operis debet adhuc ut ei licet vaccas suas domum ducere ad mulgendum in die & postea reducere ad caulas domini & in Augusto prestat .i. hominem prima vice, duos secunda, & totam suam familiam tertia vice ad cibum domini, aut sine cibo .i. hominem eciam tertia, et si de falda domini fuerit quicquam furatum quando debet custodire eam, dimidium rei soluet illi cui res furata est & .xvi. denarios Abbati, & ad fenum colligendum debet cum altero socio suo invenire quadrigam uno sabbato & ducere in curiam domini, & bini id est inter duos debent adducere iterum .i. quadrigatam lignorum & incidere & ponere ubi iussum fuerit, & quisque eorum debet facere .i. sextarium brasii de duabus trauis & dare decimum porcum pro pasnagio & duas gallinas ad Natale. Elfac faber tenet .ij. bouatas ad opus. Edricus bouarius .i. bouatam pro dimidio opere supradictorum . Godricus bouarius similiter.

¶ Censarii sunt Godricus filius Edrici tenet .ij. bouatas pro .ij. solidis & prestat aratrum bis in anno & in Augusto prestat semel .ij. homines ad secandum & secunda uice totam familiam ad

SURVEY A—*contd.*

.ij. bouatas pro .ij. solidis. Godricus .ij. bouatas pro .ij. solidis . hugo le sele .iiij. bouatas pro .iiij. solidis. Preter hec homo qui fuit [sic] Ordrici tenet .ij. pro .iiij. solidis quas prius tenebat Alfac faber pro opere suo. Item vxor Alurici defendit .ij. bouatas pro .iiij. solidis quas idem Aluricus prius habebat ad opus. Ordricus .ij. bouatas pro .ij. solidis.

Item in magna Oufra Edwinus qui fuit homo Ordrici habet .ij. bouatas ad opus quas prius habuit lewinus ad malam. Homo qui fuit Thoki .ij. bouatas ad opus quas prius tenuit idem Tochi ad malam. Athelwi .ij. bouatas pro .ij. solidis quas prius tenuit ad opus. Willelmus filius Ernoldi .ij. bouatas pro .ij. solidis quas prius tenuit Osmer ad opus.

SURVEY B—*contd.*

cibum domini & debet .ij. perticas ad Burton & .ij. ad lucum & ter in anno ire ad cazas vnaquaque vice tribus diebus. Aluricus filius eius tantumdem tenet & tantumdem facit. Vlmerus similiter. Isti tres possunt mitti ad opus si uoluerit Abbas. Elsius .iiij. bouatas pro .iiij. solidis & facit consuetudines ceterorum. Soenus presbyter .ij. bouatas pro .ij. solidis & facit predictas consuetudines. Ordricus tenet .iiij. bouatas pro .iiij. solidis & debet .iiij. perticas ad curiam & .iiij. ad lucum, & prestat aratrum bis & bis secat sicut predicti. Preter hos Godwinus prepositus .ij. bouatas pro .ij. solidis & pro seruicio suo. Edricus prepositus .ij. bouatas pro .iiij. solidis. Godricus presbyter habet .iiij. bouatas terre & ecclesiam & nos omnes decimas. Edricus senex prepositus .iiij. bouatas pro .iiij. solidis & vadit ad placita & ad Comitatus & ad Wapentas pro terra Abbatis & facit alias consuetudines sicut Ordricus. Quator bouarii vnusquisque habet .i. bouatam & .iiij. acras seminatas pro officio suo, & uxores eorum operantur .i. die in ebdomada. Acras autem seminatas reddent cum deseruerint ministerium. Tochi .vi. bouatas pro .vij. solidis. Summa est

Oufra minor

IN Oufra minore est tantum
 X Inlande ubi possunt esse .iiij.

SURVEY A—*contd.*

Parua Oufra

IN parua Oufra est tantum
 Inlande quantum satis est ad .iiij.

SURVEY B—*contd.*

aratra. Nunc sunt .iiij. de .xxxij. bobus. Equa .i. Terra hominum se defendit pro .iiij. carrucatis. Villani sunt Godricus prepositus, Aluricus, Dunningus, Edricus, Soenus, Vluricus, alter Soenus, Ailwinus, alter Edricus, Tercius Soenus, Leouinus, Algarus, Sewachra, Almerus, Elmer, Meriet, Edwardus, Orgarus. Omnes isti & ita tenent & ita faciunt sicut villani Oufre maioris. Bouarii .iiij. Aldwinus, Eluricus, Godwinus, Alter Godwinus, vnusquisque .v. acras de Inlanda pro companagio. Godwinus habet .i. bouatam terre & .ij. acras segetis pro fabricandis ferris trium aratorum. Vnus est Cotsetus Aluricus & tenet .i. bouatam & facit dimidium opus villani. Censarii sunt Soenus tenet .ij. bouatas pro .ij. solidis & facit omnes consuetudines sicut filii Edrici. Elricus similiter frater eius. Isti duo possunt mitti ad opus si uoluerit Abbas. Wintrus .iiij. bouatas pro .xij. denariis & pro eundo ad Wapentas. Edwardus .ij. bouatas pro .ij. solidis. Godwinus molendinarius .ij. bouatas pro .ij. solidis. Godeua .iiij. bouatas pro .iiij. solidis. Isti .iiii^{or.} faciunt omnes consuetudines quas debent censarii maioris Oufre. Vlmerus tenet .ij. bouatas pro .ij. solidis cum supradictis consuetudinibus. Agamundus .ij. bouatas de Inlanda pro .ij. solidis & debet geldare Abbati & facere consuetudines

SURVEY A—*contd.*

aratra fortissima in dominio. Terra hominum se defendit pro .iiij. carrucatis. In terra Warlanda sunt .xxxvij. bouate ad opus & .xix. ad malam, id est inter totum .lvi. bouate. De hiis que sunt ad opus tenent .iiij. bouarii .viiij. bouatas & .xiiij. villani tenent .xxvij. bouatas, id est vnusquisque .ij. bouatas. Item Aluricus .i. bouatam ad opus. Item Vlsius cotsetus tenet .ij. acras de Inlanda & operatur .i. die. Godwinus cotsetus .i. domum & operatur .i. die.

¶ Porro de hiis que sunt ad malam tenet Ailricus prepositus .ij. bouatas pro .ij. solidis. Soen .ij. bouatas pro .ij. solidis. Vlmer .ij. bouatas pro .ij. solidis. Ailwinus .ij. bouatas pro .iiij. solidis. Godeua & Edulfus .iiij. bouatas pro .v. solidis. Winter .iiij. bouatas pro .iiij. solidis. homines .x. tenent partem Inlande pro .v. solidis. Godwinus molendinarius .ij. bouatas pro .iiij. solidis. Rogerus filiaster eius .ij. acras pro .xvi. denariis & pro patrocinio Abbatis. Item hornus tenet .ij. bouatas de Inlanda pro .iiij. solidis & geldat Abbati. Item Godwinus tenet molendinum vnum in Derbeia quod pertinet ad parvam Ouftram & vnam parvam Insulam & vnam mansuram cum domo pro .xxxv. solidis. Item habemus ibi partem prati id est circiter .xij. acras que reddunt nobis .vi. solidos. Item Gothus tenet vnam

SURVEY B—*contd.*

supradictas. Rogerus .ij. acras pro .xvi. denariis & patrocinio. Godwinus tenet .i. molendinum in Derbeia pertinens ad Ouftram minorem & unam parvam insulam & .i. mansuram cum domo pro .xxv. solidis & vna mansura est ibi uasta quam emit Swanus monachus & habet eam idem Godwinus molendinarius. ¶ Item in Derbeia habemus ecclesiam quam tenet Godricus presbyter noster. Item ibi habemus .iiij. mansuras, duas vastas & terciam cum domo. hanc cum domo tenet Willelmus de Ora, & reddit .i. salmonem in ramis palmarum, alteram de vastis Gothus pro .ij. denariis, & tercia prestita est Godrico presbytero. Item habemus ibi .xij. acras prati quod pertinet ad Ouram minorem. Item sunt in Derbeia duo vici & debemus habere in Augusto .i. die duas partes omnium hominum ad secandas segetes Abbatis in Oufra minore. De istis .ij. partibus hominum eorumdem vicorum quicumque habent in Derbeia terram de unaquaque bouata debemus habere .ij. mergites ad festum sancti Martini. In eisdem .ij. vicis quot sunt caruce, vnaqueque carrucata debet araturam .i. acre aut duos denarios in consuetudinem ad tremais & debemus habere .ij.

SURVEY A—*contd.*

vastam mansuram pro .ij. denariis. Et preter hec habemus in Derbeia ecclesiam quam tenet Godricus presbyter & vnam mansuram cum domo quam habet Willelmus de Ora & reddit inde vnum salmonem in ramis palmarum, & iterum .ij. vastas mansuras, vna prestita est Godrico presbytero & alteram quam emit Sawinus Monachus habet idem Godwinus molendinarius.

¶ Item .ij. vici sunt Derbeie in Waldewike strete¹ de quibus habemus ad parvam Ouftram consuetudinem talem. De unaquaque domo horum vicorum debent esse partiti homines in parcella quoque anno in Augusto, & Comes Derbeie debet habere tertiam partem illorum hominum ad opus suum .i. die & Abbas .ij. partes ad secandas segetes suas .i. die ad parvam Ouftram. Item debent isti homines de vnaquaque bouata reddere .iiij. mergites ad festum sancti martini, unam Comiti & .ij. Abbati. Item isti homines debent de vnaquaque carrucata que est in Waldewike strete reddere .ij. denarios in Annunciatione sancte marie, & de istis nummis duas partes Abbati & terciam Comiti. Item Otho de Derbeia tenet .ix. acras de inlanda pro .xij. denariis. Godricus filius

¹ Here "vicus" probably stands for a cluster or collection of houses. Was Waldewike Street then the name of the Roman road, which led from Letocetum (Wall) to Little Chester by Derby, and which is usually known as the Icknield or Rycknield Street?

SURVEY B—*contd.*

partes istius consuetudinis. Item quatuor bouarii in parua Ora quisque habet .i. bouatam, & .iiij. acras seminat pro officio suo & vxores eorum operantur .i. die. Reddent autem acras seminat cum deseruerint boues. Summa est

SURVEY A—*contd.*

tornatoris tenet .ij. bouatas ad opus quas prius tenebat Wlmer pro .ij. solidis. Soen filius Wlrici .ij. bouatas pro .iiij. solidis quas prius tenuit ad opus filius Meriet. Radulfus palmer .ij. bouatas pro .iiij. solidis. Winter .xij. acras de Inlanda pro .xij. denariis, faber .i. bouatam pro opere .iiij. aratorum quam prius habebat Wlricus pro .xij. denariis.

¶ Item in parua Oufra habet Ricardus filius Wlmeri .ij. bouatas pro .ij. solidis quas prius tenuit Engeran ad opus. Winter parum de Inlanda pro .xij. denariis. Item aliam partem de Inlanda pro .iiij. solidis. Soen filius Meriet .ij. bouatas pro .ij. solidis quas prius tenuit pater suus ad opus. Godricus halesoen .iiij. acras & dimidiam de Inlanda & .i. acram prati pro .xij. denariis. Vhtebrand faber .i. domum & .i. acram & dimidiam de Inlanda pro .xij. denariis.

Finderna

fo. xii IN Finderna est inlanda aratorum .iiij. Nunc sunt .ij. Equus .i. Terra hominum se defendit pro .ij. carrucatis. Censarii sunt Aluredus tenet .iiij. bouatas pro .vi. solidis, & debet prestare aratrum suum ter in anno & equum in quadragesima .i. die ad herzandum & in estate .i. hominem ad sarclandum & .i. hominem ad falcandum, & .i. die quadrigam ad quadrigandum fenum domini & in

Finderna

IN Finderna est tantum inlande quantum satis est ad .ij. aratra fortissima in dominio. Terra hominum se defendit pro .ij. carrucatis. In terra Warlanda sunt .xxxij. bouata, id est .i. ad opus quam tenet Brandwinus bouarius, & cetere ad malam hoc modo. Hundingus prepositus tenet .iiij. bouatas pro .iiij. solidis & .vi. denariis. Willelmus filius Godwini .iiij. bouatas pro .iiij. solidis & .vi.

SURVEY B—*contd.*

Augusto .vi. dies debet domino prima uice .i. hominem ad secandum, secunda duos, Tercia totam familiam ad cibum Abbatis, & alios .iiij. dies omnino similiter, & debet portare missatica ubi precipitur. Leuricus tenet .v. bouatas pro .viij. solidis & .vi. denariis, & facit consuetudines supradictas. Walterus habet .ij. bouatas pro .iiij. solidis & pro seruicio corporis sui & facit similiter consuetudines. Hundingus .i. bouatam pro .xviij. denariis, & facit consuetudines predictas. Penethe filius similiter. Soenus similiter. Sortebront tenet .ij. bouatas pro .iiij. solidis & facit omnia sicut ceteri. Bouarii .iiij. habent de inlanda .xv. acras pro companagio, & quartus bouarius .i. bouatam pro companagio.¹ Cotseti sunt .iiij. qui operantur .i. die in ebdomada. Umfridus .iiij. bouatas pro .vi. solidis, & pro seruicio suo & consuetudinibus. Quatuor bouarii vnusquisque trium habet .i. bouatam, & .iiij. acras seminatas pro officio suo, & vxores eorum operantur .i. die. Quartus habet .v. acras de Inlanda & .iiij. similiter seminatas, & operatur .i. die in ebdomada. Acras autem seminatas reddent cum reddiderint officium. Penether pater .i. bouatam pro .xviij. denariis. Summa est

SURVEY A—*contd.*

denariis. Umfridus .iiij. bouatas pro .vi. solidis. Leuricus .iiij. bouatas pro .vi. solidis. Aluredus .iiij. bouatas pro .vi. solidis. Godwinus .ij. bouatas pro .iiij. solidis. Soen .ij. bouatas pro .iiij. solidis. Hugo .ij. bouatas pro .iiij. solidis. Gamel .ij. bouatas pro .iiij. solidis. Sortebrand .ij. bouatas pro .iiij. solidis. Godingus .i. bouatam pro .xviij. denariis & pro opere .ij. dierum. Winemer .i. bouatam pro .xviij. denariis & pro opere duorum dierum. ¶ Godricus cotsetus habet .i. domum super inlandam & operatur .i. die. Seluwi cotsetus manet super inlandam & habet .ij. acras & operatur .i. die. Alwinus cotsetus .i. domum super inlandam & operatur .i. die. Vna daia .i. domum super inlandam & operatur .i. die. Tedeua .i. domum super inlandam & operatur .i. die. Item .iiij. domus super inlandam. Hadewaldus .i. bouatam pro .xij. denariis. ¶ Item pars grange Godwini & pars domus Willelmi filii eius & sepes hugonis & pars domus eius super inlandam. Item Godwinus inter predictam Inlandam ubi sedent domus eius & filii eius & aliam que est in agris habet .vi. acras terre & .ij. prati pro .xij. denariis, & postea addidit ad firmam alios .xij. denarios, id est pro toto quicquid tenet reddit .vij.

¹ This sentence is underlined in the Cartulary.

SURVEY B—*contd.***Pothlac**

Potlac se defendit *pro* .i. *carrucata*. Hanc tenet Nigellus de Rependona *pro* .iiij. *solidis*.

SURVEY A—*contd.*

solidos quoque anno. Stainbertus habet .i. *bouatam* de Warlanda quam prius tenuit brandwinus bouarius & operatur .ij. diebus.

Pothlac

IN Potlac nichil inlande est. Terra se defendit *pro* .i. *carrucata*. In hac terra sunt .xvi. *bouate*. Ex hiis sunt .vij. in *dominio* & satis est ad .i. *aratrum* fortissimum. Ceteras id est .ix. tenent homines hoc modo. Gamel tenet .iiij. *bouatas pro* .v. *solidis*. Vlchetus .i. *bouatam pro* .xviiij. *denariis*. Meriet .i. *bouatam pro* .xviiij. *denariis*. Alwinus .i. *bouatam pro* .xviiij. *denariis*. Elmer .i. *bouatam pro* .xviiij. *denariis*. Eilaph .i. *bouatam pro* .xij. *denariis*. ¶ Teram huius manerii preter .i. *domum* & .i. *croftam* & preter sedes *molendinorum* habet Gaufridus in *fedfirmam pro* .xl. *solidis* quoque anno, & per seruicia *condecencia* corporis sui, & debet dare *rectam* *decimam* *omnium* *segetum* eiusdem manerii.

Edwinus autem & Wigot habent fo. viij *predictam* *domum* & *croftam* & *molendinum pro* .l. *solidis* quoque anno & de piscibus debent *presentare* *Abbatu* iuxta quod dederit eis deus

Wilentona

IN Wilentona nichil inlande est. Warlanda se defendit *pro* .iiij. *carrucatis*. In *dominio* sunt. Umfridus tenet .v. *bouatas pro*

Wilintona

IN Wilintona nichil inlande est. Terra se defendit *pro* .iiij. *carrucatis*. In hac terra sunt .xxxij. *bouate*. Ex hiis sunt .vij. in

SURVEY B—*contd.*

Nichilo. Soenus .iiij. bouatus pro .vi. solidis. Collingus .ij. bouatas pro .xxviiij. denariis. Leuricus similiter. Edwinus .i. bouatam pro .xiiiij. denariis. Oschetus & Godricus hii duo .i. bouatam pro .xiiiij. denariis. Cola .i. bouatam pro .xiiiij. denariis. Algarus similiter. Ailricus similiter. Lewinus similiter. Dermanus similiter. Seulfus similiter. Vnus Cotsetus est qui operatur .i. die. Faber .i. bouatam pro seruicio suo . molendinum reddit .xx. solidos. ¶ Hoc manerium tenet Aluredus de Cumbrai pro .xxx. solidis & pro decima terre in omnibus rebus. Debet eciam dare decimam equarum suarum ubicumque morentur. Summa est

SURVEY A—*contd.*

dominio & satis est ad .ij. aratra. Ceteras id est .xxv. bouatas tenent homines hoc modo. Godricus presbyter tenet .i. bouatam & parum prati ad ecclesiam. Vmfridus .vi. bouatas pro .vi. solidis. Soeni .iiij. bouatas pro .vi. solidis. Serlo .ij. bouatas pro .ij. solidis. Lewinus prepositus .i. bouatam pro .ij. solidis. Botinus .i. bouatam pro .ij. solidis. Godwinus dimidiam bouatam pro .xiiiij. denariis. Item Leuricus .ij. bouatas pro .xxxij. denariis, & a festo sancti petri post festum sancti Iohannis usque ad festum sancti Martini operatur .ij. diebus in ebdomada. Leuinus .ij. bouatas pro .xxxij. denariis & operatur similiter .ij. diebus. Edwinus .i. bouatam pro .xvi. denariis & operatur .i. die in predictis terminis. Ailricus .i. bouatam pro .xvi. denariis & operatur similiter .i. die. Alured .i. bouatam pro .xvi. denariis & operatur similiter .i. die. Cola .i. bouatam pro .xvi. denariis & operatur similiter .i. die. Godricus dimidiam bouatam pro .viiij. denariis & operatur dimidio die in predictis terminis. Lewinus faber .i. bouatam pro seruicio .ij. aratorum siue pro .xvi. denariis & pro opere supradicto.

Summa est .xxiv. [qu. .xxvi.] solidi & .vi. denarii preter fabrum & preter Ailric & Leueric qui habent .i. croftam de dominio pro .iiij. denariis. Omnes simul presant aratra sua .iiij. vicibus & in Augusto secant .iiij. diebus. Hoc

SURVEY B—*contd.*

Stapehulla

IN Stapehulla est tantum Inlande ubi possunt esse aratra .iij. Nunc sunt .iij. de .xxiiij. bobus. Equa vna. Terra hominum se defendit pro .ij. carrucatis. Villani sunt Godricus prepositus, Elricus, Thurchillus, Aluricus, Edwinus, Alter Aluricus, Vlnodus. Quisque horum tenet .ij. bouatas & operatur .ij. diebus in ebdomada, & debet ire pro sale & pro piscibus aut dare .ij. denarias pro utroque summagio & iterum aut equum aut .iiij. denarios propter iter Abbatís ad curiam, & propter faldam warectat .i. acram, & preter hoc arat in quadragesima dimidiam acram & reddit pasnagium, & dat .ij. gallinas ad Natale, & .i. quadrigatam lignorum ducit ad curiam, & mittitur ubi iubetur, & facit brasii .i. sextarium, & bis arat in anno ad opus domini preter supradictas araciones.

¶ Item Alwinus, Frawinus, Lewinus, Uttedus, Torgatus. Quisque horum habet .i. bouatam & operatur .i. die & facit predictas consuetudines. Godricus faber tenet .ij. bouatas & operatur .ij. diebus, & debet omnia sicut ceteri. Quatuor bouarii, quisque eorum tenet

SURVEY A—*contd.*

manerium tenet Vmfridus ad firmam cum molendino usque ad annos .xvi. pro .c. solidis quoque anno & pro decimis omnium rerum eiusdem manerii que sunt in dominio suo.

Stapehull

IN Stapenhull est tantum inlande quantum satis est ad .ij. aratra fortissima in dominio. Terra hominum se defendit pro .ij. carrucatis. In terra Warlanda sunt .xiiij. bouate ad opus, & inter Warlandam & Inlandam .xix. ad malam id est simul .xxxiiij. bouate. De hiis que sunt ad opus tenet Ailwinus carpentarius .i. bouatam, Lewinus .i. bouatam. Ceteras id est .xij. tenent .vi. villani, id est unusquisque .ij. bouatas. Preter hec tenet Ailwardus bouarius .xxij. acras de Inlanda, terram scilicet .ij. bouariorum, pro custodia vnius aratri. Aluiet bouarius .ix. acras de Inlanda & herold bouarius .vi. pro custodia alterius aratri. Item Alwinus fretecorn preter illas .ij. bouatas quas tenet ad opus sicut villanus habet .i. domum & .iiij. acras de Inlanda sicut cotsetus & pro hoc operatur .i. die. Alwinus det habet .i. domum & .i. acram de Inlanda & operatur .i. die. Aluricus sutor .i. domum & .i. acram de Inlanda & operatur .i. die. Alduinus .i. domum super inlandam & operatur .i. die. Preter hos Ragemer tenet .i. bouatam de Warlanda cum sua crofta

SURVEY B—*contd.*

.i. bouatam de terra cotsetorum & operatur .i. die . preter hos sunt alii .iiij. cotseti. Vnus eorum Edricus habet .v. acras de Inlanda & operatur .i. die. Alii .iiij., vnusquisque habet domum & ortum & operatur .i. die. ¶ Censarii sunt Leuingus aurifaber tenet .iiij. bouatas & croftam & molendinum pro .vi. solidis & .iiij. denariis, & operatur opus monasterii sine mercede ad cibum Abbatis dum operatur & post obitum suum dedit monasterio totum censum suum si fuerit sine vxore, si autem cum uxore dimidium. Ailwinus bissop. habet .ij. bouatas de Inlanda & .ij. de Warlanda pro .vi. solidis & debet .iiij. perticas ad curiam & .iiij. ad lucum, & bis in anno prestat aratrum suum & ter in Augusto secat cum omnibus suis, & ad cazas inuenit .i. hominem quando precipitur. Elicus habet .ij. bouatas pro .iiij. solidis, & debet facere easdem consuetudines. Aluricus tenet .i. bouatam pro .xviiij. denariis, & debet ire ad salinam semel in anno conducere summarios & ad Linchaliā similiter alia uice pro piscibus & prestare aratrum bis in anno, & ter in Augusto secare cum suis. Alwardus .i. bouatam pro .xviiij. denariis & pro opere suo. Willelmus frater d' [eius ?] .i. bouatam pro .ij. solidis. Frawinus carpentarius .i. bouatam pro .xviiij. denariis. Godricus faber .ij. bouatas pro .xviiij. denariis, & pro opere carucarum

SURVEY A—*contd.*

& alias .ij. croftas. Item Siwardus tenet .i. domum cum crofta & .i. acram de Inlanda & operatur .i. die. Edredus .i. bouatam ad opus de illis quas tenuit fretecorn. Porro de hiis que sunt ad malam tenet Alwinus bissop .ij. bouatas de Inlanda & .ij. de Warlanda pro .vi. solidis. Liuingus aurifaber .v. bouatas de Warlanda & mediam partem .i. crofte de inlanda & .i. paruum molendinum pro .viiij. solidis.

Ailricus prepositus .ij. bouatas pro .iiij. solidis. Hubertus de Aud' (?) .ij. bouatas pro .iiij. solidis. Vlnodus .ij. bouatas pro .iiij. solidis. Aluricus mercator .i. bouatam pro .xviiij. denariis. Aluricus sutor .i. bouatam pro .xviiij. denariis. Ailwardus de Stantonā .i. bouatam pro .xviiij. denariis. Ernoldus .i. bouatam pro .xij. denariis & .i. exclusagium pro .xij. denariis. Summa est .xxix. solidi & .vi. denarii.

Preter has habet Tuoldus carpentarius molendinum pro .xx. solidis quoque anno & pro solidatis suis ut faciat omnia opera ecclesie que pertinent ad officium suum et de ligno & de plumbo. Hoc molendinum debet molere totum Wintercorn de Curia.

SURVEY B—*contd.*

duarum. Ernaldus .ij. bouatas pro .xij. denariis, & pro exclusagio molendini .xij. denarios. Widre exclusagium molendini pro .xij. denariis. Summa est.

Bersicote

Bersicote se defendit pro .x. bouatis. De hiis adquietat ad gildum Regis Mabonus duas partes quas inde possidet, terciam Abbas quam sibi retinuit. Item tenet idem Mabonus in Stapehulla .i. bouatam & .ij. ortos, & in Wineshulla .ij. bouatas de terra sochemannorum, & in Wismera de Inlanda partem pratorum. hec omnia possidet pro seruicio corporis sui.

Stantona

Stantona se defendit pro .i. carucata. hanc tenet Gaufridus de Eglintona pro .x. solidis, & dat decimam eiusdem terre.

Tichenhala

Tichenhala se defendit pro .vi. bouatis. Hanc tenet Robertus de Ferrers & Soenus sub eo pro .x. solidis.

Wineshulla

IN Wineshulla est tantum Inlande ubi possunt esse aratra .ij. & de altera terra geldabili sunt eciam in dominio .v. bouate.

SURVEY A—*contd.***Bersicote**

Bersicote se defendit pro .xi. bouatis. Hanc terram tenet Johannes filius Mabon pro seruicio corporis sui

Stantona

IN Stantona habemus unam carucatam terre quam tenet Gaufridus de Clintona pro .x. solidis & dat decimam eiusdem terre.

Tichenhala

IN Tichenhala habemus .v. bouatas terre & terciam partem vnus bouate ad geldum regis. Hanc terram tenet Robertus de ferrers pro .x. solidis.

Wineshulla

IN Wineshulla est tantum Inlande ubi possunt esse duo aratra in dominio. Terra hominum se defendit pro ij carrucatis. In

SURVEY B—*contd.*

Nunc sunt aratra .ij. de .xvi. bobus. Equa .i. Terra hominum se defendit pro .ij. carrucatis cum .v. bouatis predictis dominicis. Villani sunt isti. Edricus prepositus tenet .iiij. bouatas duas ad opus .i. ad censum pro .xviiij. denariis, & .i. parroc pro .ij. denariis. Johannes, Leuricus, Walterus, Gamalus, quisque .ij. bouatas ad opus. Ailwardus .ij. bouatas ad opus. Radulfus bouarius, Aluricus, Leuricus, Osmundus, Soenus bouarii, quisque .i. bouatam ad opus similiter. Isti debent & operari & facere consuetudines sicut villani de Stapehulla nisi quia illi ut predictum est warectant propter faldam .i. acram pro .ij. bouatis & dimidiam pro vna. Isti fimant de suo fimo pro .ij. bouatis .i. perticam & pro vna dimidiam. Cotseti sunt Osmundus, Godinus, Godeua vidua. Quisque tenet cortillagium & operatur .i. die in ebdomada. Fromundus .ij. bouatas pro .iiij. solidis. Sochemanni sunt isti. Elwinus tenet .ij. bouatas pro .iiij. solidis, & debet .ij. perticas ad curiam & .ij. ad lucum, & ter in anno debet ire ad Cazas .iiij. diebus unaquaque vice, & bis prestare aratrum suum & in estate .i. hominem .i. die ad fenandum & in Augusto .i. hominem .iiij. diebus ad secandum. Tedricus .iiij. bouatas pro .iiij. solidis, & debet easdem consuetudines. Godricus .i. bouatam pro .xij. denariis, &

SURVEY A—*contd.*

terra Warlanda sunt .xiiij. bouate ad opus & .xxxviiij. ad malam & ij absque mala quas Mabon tenuit. Id est inter totum .liiiij. bouate. De hiis que sunt ad opus tenent .iiij. villani plenarii .viiij. bouatas, id est vnusquisque .ij. bouatas. Ceteras, id est .vi. tenent .vi. villani dimidii, id est vnusquisque .i. bouatam vnus cotsetus habet ibi .i. domum & operatur .i. die. ¶ Porro de hiis que sunt ad malam, tenet Edricus qui & villanus est .i. bouatam ad censum & .i. parroc pro .xx. denariis. Leuredus .i. bouatam pro .xviiij. denariis. Godricus .i. bouatam pro .xx. denariis. Torbeius (?) .i. bouatam pro .xij. denariis. Tedricus .iiij. bouatas pro .iiij. solidis. Stori .ij. bouatas pro .iiij. solidis. Ailwinus celarius .ij. bouatas pro .iiij. solidis. Eilwinus .ij. bouatas pro .iiij. solidis. Auelina .v. bouatas & dimidiam pro .viiij. solidis. Willelmus de Tatenhulla .iiij. bouatas pro .iiij. solidis. Ricardus .v. bouatas pro .vi. solidis. Lepsi .iiij. bouatas pro .iiij. solidis & .vi. denariis, ex quibus retinuit Abbas in sua manu .xviiij. denarios. Terram quoque quam Mabon tenuit id est .ij. bouatas & Robertum habentem .ij. bouatas & dimidiam pro .xxx. denariis, & Fromund habentem .ij. bouatas pro .iiij. solidis & Edwinus [*sic*] de lega tenentem .ij. bouatas pro .iiij. solidis, & Collingum tenentem .ij. bouatas

SURVEY B—*contd.*

debet .i. perticam ad curiam & alteram ad lucum, & ceteras *predictorum* consuetudines. Cum aliquis horum obierit heredes eorum debent .xvi. solidos de heriete. Item Lepsi tenet .iij. bouatas de terra sochemannorum pro .iij. solidis & .xviiij. denariis preter alias .iij. quas habebat & dimidiam infra dominium Abbatis, debet tamen ire ad placita & ad hundredos & syras & wapentas. Item Robertus frater Fromundi habet .ij. bouatas & dimidiam de terra sochemannorum pro seruicio corporis sui & pro .xxx. denariis. Torbeius (?) .i. bouatam pro .xij. denariis. Item Ricardus filius Godefridi habet similiter de terra sochemannorum .v. bouatas & dimidiam, .iij. scilicet & dimidiam pro .x. denariis & obolo sicut sochemannus & duas quietas sicut

fo. xiiij Rachenistus. Leuredus .i. bouatam pro .xviiij. denariis. Item Ricardus debet .v. perticas & dimidiam ad curiam & tantumdem ad lucum, & ceteras consuetudines supradictorum, nisi ei condonentur. Auelina .v. bouatas & dimidiam pro .viiij. solidis & consuetudinibus exceptis perticis. ¶ Censarii sunt isti. Stori, Eilmerus, Aluena sanctimonialis.

SURVEY A—*contd.*

pro .iij. solidis & Segar pontarium qui habet .i. domum cum uirgulto quietam & vnam croftam pro .xviiij. denariis & parum terre quam tenet Lewi qui manet in Burtona & Molendinum de ponte cum crofta retinuit Abbas in sua propria manu. Aliud Molendinum paruum & cetera (?) omnia que sunt in manerio tradidit ad firmam Edrico monacho pro .iiij. libris & .x. solidis. Summa eorum in denariis quos retinuit Abbas est

Summa eorum in denariis que tradidit Edrico est .xxxviiij. solidi & .ij. denarii.

¶ In manu Abbatis sunt .viiij. denarii quos reddit Widl' (?)¹ ultra .xij. denarios. Item Edwinus de Lega tenet .ij. bouatas ad opus quas prius tenebat pro .iij. solidis, & operatur apud Stapenhullam. Ipse idem preter hoc tenet parum terre in Lega pro .xij. denariis.

¹ I could not clearly make out this word, but the context suggests that it should in some way represent Godricus, the only tenant included in Edric's farm, who paid a rent of 20*d.* The 8*d.* would probably represent the value of the customary services which at the time of the Survey he had to do for the Abbot. This paragraph is obviously a later addition. There was on the other side of the Trent, at Burton, a tenant called Widsi, who held at a rent of 12*d.* (see *ante*, p. 215), and it is possible that this may be the name here.

SURVEY B—*contd.*

Quisque tenet .ij. bouatas pro .iij. solidis, & debent facere consuetudines quas faciunt Censarii de Stapehulla. Arnwi, Willelmus de Tatehull .iiij. bouatas pro .iiij. solidis, & debent facere consuetudines ceterorum. Awardus .i. acram prati & .i. domum & .i. cortillagium & .i. acram agri pro .xij. denariis. Ailwinus celarius .ij. bouatas pro .iij. solidis. Godmerus tenet molendinum pro .iiij. solidis & .vi. denariis. Elmerus de Lega .vi. denarios pro hulmo. Soenus de Tichenhala .iiij. bouatas pro .v. solidis & pro seruicio corporis sui. Pontarius .i. partem agri pro .xij. denariis. Lewinus similiter in Lega. Bristwi Molendinarius de ponte pro .xiiij. solidis & .xij. denariis & Wineshullam pro .iiij. Libris

Caldewella

Caldewell se defendit pro .ij. carrucatis. Hic est tantum inlande ubi possunt esse .ij. aratra id est .viiij. uirgate. Terra hominum est .xvi. virgate. Villani sunt, Vlmerus, Aluricus, alter Aluricus, Alwinus, alter Alwinus, Vluricus, Ordricus. Quisque tenet .i. uirgatam & operatur .ij. diebus & bis in anno prestat aratrum suum, & preter hoc arat in quadragesima dimidiam acram & in Augusto inuenit .i. hominem ad secandum .ij. diebus & tercio totam familiam ad cibum domini, & ad Natale dat .ij. gallinas & facit .i. sextarium brasii, & a pentecosta usque ad

SURVEY A—*contd.***Caldewalla**

IN Caldewalla est tantum Inlande ubi possunt esse .ij. aratra in dominio id est .viiij. virgate de Inlanda. Terra hominum se defendit pro .ij. carrucatis & sunt .xvi. virgate de Warlanda. Sunt igitur inter totum id est inter Inlandam & Warlandam .xlviij. bouate. Hanc terram tenet Willelmus filius Nigelli pro .xx. solidis

SURVEY B—*contd.*

festum omnium sanctorum mittit animalia in faldam dominicam. Brumanus & Godwinus .i. uirgatum & faciunt similiter. Elricus dimidiam uirgatum & facit iuxta predictas consuetudines. Isti omnes simul inueniunt .i. equum ad Londinium & auras ubicumque iubentur ad portandum cibum domini.

¶ Censarii sunt Elwinus diaconus .i. uirgatum pro .ij. solidis. Turchillus similiter. Gamalus dimidiam uirgatum pro .xij. denariis. Isti debent prestare aratra sua bis in anno & in Augusto secare sicut predictum est. Elwinus habet .ij. uirgatas & dimidiam quas dedit ei Hugo cum filia sua. Wasta terra est .ij. uirgate & dimidia.

Appelby¹

IN Appelby nichil inlande est id est que sit sine gildo regis. Terra in dominio est .xxxiiij. uirgate ubi possunt esse aratra .iiij^a. Nunc sunt .iiij. de .xxiiij. bobus. Equa & pullus. Oues circiter .ccc. Terra hominum se defendit pro .xxiiij. virgatis. ¶ Puri villani sunt isti, Alwinus, Almarus, Lewinus, Almarus, Raura, Godricus, Fladaldus, Ordricus, Toki, Rau' (?). Quisque horum tenet .i. uirgatum & operatur .ij. diebus in ebdomada, & facit omnes

SURVEY A—*contd.*

Appelby

IN Appelbi nichil inlande est. Terra se defendit pro .iiij. carrucatis. In hac sunt inter totum .xl. & .ix. virgate. Ex hiis sunt .xxiiij. in dominio & satis est ad .iiij. aratra Ceteras id est .xxv. tenent homines hoc modo. Virgate .xij. sunt ad opus & .xiiij. ad malam. De hiis que sunt ad opus tenent vndecim villani plenarii .xi. virgatas, id est vnusquisque .ij. bouatas. Duo-decimam uirgatum que restat tenent .ij. villani dimidii quisque

¹ I have followed here the order in Survey A. In Survey B Appelby follows instead of preceding Alduluestreo; it was, however, not in Warwickshire, but partly in Derbyshire and partly in Leicestershire.

SURVEY B—*contd.*

consuetudines quas faciunt villani de Alduluestreo nisi quod illi waractant & remouent & herzant .i. acram, Isti dimidiam. Item Aluricus & Sewinus tenent .i. uirgatum & operatur quisque eorum .i. die & facit predicatas consuetudines. Leuericus .i. bouatam ad opus. Blancardus similiter. ¶ Puri censarii sunt isti, Ranulfus tenet .i. uirgatum pro .xxxij. denariis & prestat aratrum suum bis in anno & ter secat in Augusto cum omnibus suis, duabus vicibus ad cibum proprium tercio ad cibum Abbatis, & debet .ij. perticas ad Burtonam & .ij. ad lucum, & debet ire ad placita & ad hundredos & ad siras & portare missatica ubi precipitur. Franus tantumdem tenet & tantumdem debet facere. Filii Alurici, Godricus, Ailwinus, Edricus, habent .viij. uirgatas quas pater eorum tenuit pro .xij. solidis & pro seruicio corporum suorum. Auelina habet .ij. uirgatas pro .v. solidis. Horbernus .ij. uirgatas pro .iiij. solidis & pro seruicio corporis sui. ¶ Villani & censarii utrumque simul sunt isti. Godwinus prepositus tenet .ij. uirgatas & dimidiam ad opus alteram cum dimidia ad censum pro .iiij. solidis. Algar .ij. bouatas ad opus & .i. bouatam ad censum pro .xvi. denariis. Isti quia tenent terram & sicut villani & sicut censarii debent facere omnes consuetudines & villanorum &

SURVEY A—*contd.*

scilicet uirgatum dimidiam, id est vnusquisque .i. bouatam. Preter hos cotseti .iiij. sunt, quisque tenet .i. acram & operatur .i. die. ¶ Porro de hiis que sunt ad malam tenet Godwinus qui & villanus est .i. uirgatum & dimidiam pro .iiij. solidis. Algar qui & ipse villanus est dimidiam uirgatum pro .xvi. denariis. Franus .i. uirgatum pro .xxxij. denariis. Ricardus .iiij. uirgatas pro .vi. solidis. Alter Ricardus .ij. uirgatas pro .iiij. solidis. Rogerius presbyter .ij. uirgatas pro .iiij. solidis. Norbertus .ij. uirgatas pro .iiij. solidis. Summa est

SURVEY B—*contd.*

censariorum. Cotseti sunt isti, Walter tenet .iiij. acras & operatur .i. die in ebdomada. Gerardus similiter. Aluricus similiter. Duo bouarii *quisque* habet .v. acras & ex ipsis .iiiij. seminatas & .v. oues *pro* officio suo & uxores eorum operantur .i. die. Reddent autem acras & oues *cum* reddent officium.

Alduluestreo Warewichesira

IN Alduluestreo sunt .iiiij. uirgate de Inlanda. Terra scilicet aratrorum .ij., aratra .ij. sunt de .xvi. bobus, equa & pullus. Terra hominum se defendit *pro* .vi. virgatis. Villani sunt Ordricus prepositus, Godwinus, Elricus, Ansgotus. Quisque horum trium tenet .i. uirgatam & operatur .ij. diebus in ebdomada, & debet ire *pro* sale & *pro* piscibus aut dare .ij. denarios *pro* utroque summagio, & iterum debet aut equum aut .iiij. denarios *propter* iter Abbat̄is ad curiam, & *propter* faldam warectat in estate .i. acram, & tempore seminandi remouet & herzat, & *propter* hoc arat in *quadragesima* dimidiam acram, & reddit pasnagium, & dat .ij. gallinas ad Natale & .i. denarium aut .i. *quadrigatam* lignorum & .xx. oua ad pascha. Item Willelmus, Colemannus, Herebranus, Ulsi. Quisque horum .iiiij. tenent dimidiam uirgatam & operatur .i. die in ebdomada, & facit omnes *supradictas* consuetudines.

SURVEY A—*contd.*

Alduluestreo

IN Alduluestreo *nichil* inlande est. Terra se defendit *pro* .ij. hidis & dimidia. In hac terra sunt inter totum .x. virgate. Ex hiis sunt .iiiij. in *dominio* & satis est ad .ij. aratra. Ceteras id est .vi. tenent homines ad opus hoc modo. Villani sunt quatuor plenarii, id est tenentes *quisque* .i. uirgatam, & quatuor dimidii tenentes *quisque* uirgatam dimidiam. Iste .vi. uirgate maiores sunt que ita *computantur* villanis sicut *computantur* in gildo regis, & ideo debent ad quietare illas .iiiij. uirgatas que sunt in *dominio*. Item .iiij. homines tenent de *dominio* *quisque* .v. acras & *quisque* operatur .i. die. Willelmus habet idem, & .v. acras terre de Inlanda & dimidiam prati *pro* .xviiij. denariis.

SURVEY B—*contd.*

¶ Nota in hac villa *computari virgate villanis solent sicut computantur* in gildo Regis, & ideo sunt maiores. Almer Cotsetus tenet de Inlanda .v. acras & operatur .i. die. Quatuor bouarii Quisque tenet .v. acras de Inlanda & ex ipsis .iiij. seminatas pro officio suo, & habet .i. vaccam, & vxores eorum operantur .i. die. Acras autem seminatas & vaccam debent reddere quando dimittent ministerium. Radulfus .i. bouatam. Summa

Stratona

IN Stratona habemus de Alano .iiij. bouatas de Inlanda id est .lxv. acras. De hiis habet Gaufridus dapifer .xl. acras pro .iiij. solidis, & Hadewi villanus noster .xxv. acras pro .iiij. horis. Item In Wlfrichestona habebat Nigellus Abbas .i. carrucatum inlande & .i. villanum & duos bordarios que omnia abstulit ecclesie post mortem eius Gaufridus de Glintona. Summa est

SURVEY A—*contd.*

Stratona

IN Stratona que fuit Alani habemus .iiij. bouatas de Inlanda id est .lxv. acras. De hiis habet Gaufridus dapifer .xl. acras pro .iiij. solidis, & Hadewi villanus .xxv. acras pro .iiij. solidis.

Item Alduluestreo

Item in Alduluestreo de .iiij. fo. ix virgatis que solebant esse in dominio tenet Aluricus filius Ebrand dimidiam virgatam ad opus. Filius Godwini dimidiam virgatam ad opus. Ordui prepositus .iiij. acras & dimidiam pro .viiij. denariis. Alter Ordui .iiij. acras ad opus. Ricardus .v. acras ad opus, id est isti tres .i. virgatam.

Such is the full text of the two Surveys, which are written on nine folios separately numbered v to xiii (inclusive), and bound up with the Cartulary between folios 16 and 17, and I think that my transcription is fairly accurate. It is to be hoped that we may now get some further illuminating notes on them from Mr. Round, who pointed out the desirability of printing the full text. But in the meantime I trust that it may not be thought presumptuous if I call attention to some points which a study of these Surveys has suggested.

I. DATES OF SURVEYS AND ADDITIONS THERETO.

Mr. Round has, I think, proved conclusively by internal evidence (1) that both these surveys belong to Abbot Geoffrey's time (1114-1150), (2) that the survey placed first in the *Burton Cartulary* and by its fifteenth-century heading erroneously attributed to Abbot Nigel's time (1094-1114), which we have called Survey A, is really somewhat later than the other one, which we have called Survey B, and (3) that Survey A contains certain later additions entered after it was originally made. He has also given cogent reasons for assigning 1114-1118 as the date of Survey B, and 1116-1133, if not 1116-1127, as that of Survey A. The conclusions already established by Mr. Round need not be laboured, but the more the surveys are studied the more clearly does their correctness appear. Professor Vinogradoff, in a note to p. 462 of his *English Society in the Eleventh Century* (1908), does indeed refer to Survey A as the earlier one, but he does not mention, and doubtless had not seen, Mr. Round's Notes on these surveys. With regard, however, to the dates of the surveys, something further may be said, and it seems to me that it can also be shewn that Survey B as well as Survey A contains additions made after its original date.

1. First, as to the date of Survey B. Mr. Round has called attention (*Staff. Coll.*, N.S., Vol. IX, p. 275) to the entry in Survey B of Lepsi's holding of two mills at Burton for four years from the feast of All Saints in the first year of Abbot Geoffrey (*i.e.* from 1st November, 1114),—a passage which is printed quite correctly in the Appendix to the first volume of Shaw's *Staffordshire*,—as providing a definite note of date for this survey. He has also pointed out that the heading to the survey ascribing the date to Abbot Geoffrey's first year, which appears not to be a

contemporaneous entry, cannot be relied upon. But in this instance I think it is supported by a small piece of evidence to be found within the survey itself. In the account of Burton near the beginning of Survey B, there is a list of the various animals there, giving the number of each sort; but in referring to the mares and foals "de haraz," which I take to be the breeding stock running wild, the survey only gives the number as they existed in the time of Abbot Nigel. As there would in all probability be a rounding up and stocktaking at least once a year, this passage seems to me to suggest that no long time had elapsed since Abbot Nigel's death, and I can see no reason in this case for doubting the accuracy of the heading, which would give 1114-1115 as the date of the survey.

2. Next, as to the approximate date of Survey A. The argument for the earlier date (1116-1127), which Mr. Round himself describes as somewhat subtle (N.S., Vol. IX, p. 275, note), seems to be as follows:—That at the date of Survey A, Tichenhale (Ticknall) was held by Robert de Ferrers (see under Tichenhale), that after the date of that survey it was given up by him and a new arrangement made with the Abbot, under which he received instead other land including a part of the grove belonging to Brantiston (Branston) (see under Branston, in a passage which, as he points out, must have been written after the completion of the survey), that the date of this new arrangement can be shewn by the deed itself as given in the *Burton Cartulary* (*Staff. Coll.*, Vol. V, p. i, pp. 49, 50) to be not later than 1127, and consequently that the date of the survey itself cannot be later than that year. Mr. Round might, I think, have said 1126, as one of the witnesses to the deed was Robert, bishop of Chester, *i.e.*, Robert Peche, who died in the year 1126.

May I call attention to one or two further indications, which, though not carrying the date quite so far back, yet point in the same direction? The first one, which would at any rate limit the range of date for Survey A to 1116-1132, is that there is no mention at all in it of Wulfricheston (Wolston, in Warwickshire). This land, which was part of the Abbey possessions at the time of the Domesday Survey, had also, as we learn from Survey B under Stratona (Stretton super Dunsmore), been in the possession of the Abbey in Abbot Nigel's time, but had been taken away

from it after his death by Geoffrey de Clinton. It was in fact restored to the Abbey in 1132 (*Burton Cartulary, ubi sup.*, pp. 32, 33),—a date which doubtless marks the death of Geoffrey de Clinton, the Treasurer of Henry I.,—and it is in the highest degree improbable that Wolston should not have been mentioned in the new survey, if it had formed part of the Abbey possessions at the time when that survey was made. And I think that we can carry the date back a step further to 1129–1130, on tolerably sure grounds. The late General Wrottesley, in his *Account of the Okeover Family (Staff. Coll., N.S., Vol. VII, p. 7)*, connects Andrew's exchange of Field for Leigh, or rather he should have said a *part* of Leigh (*Burton Cartulary*, p. 34), with an entry on the Staffordshire Pipe Roll of 31 Hen. I. (1129–1130), where Andrew de Felda accounts for a fine of 40s. that he might have licence to hold certain land given to him by the Abbot of Burton (*Staff. Coll.*, Vol. I, pp. 1–2, 7); and, inasmuch as he is there still designated de *Felda* (not de *Lega*), and the deed of exchange itself refers to the king's precept and to the consent of Robert de Ferrers, who was the overlord of Field,¹ I think that this identification may be taken as almost certainly correct. If so, Survey A, in which Andrew appears as the tenant of Field, must be dated some time between 1116, when he acquired it from Abbot Geoffrey and 1129–1130, when he had paid his fine and obtained the king's licence to exchange it with the Abbot for a part of Leigh. Further light might be thrown on the date of this survey if the following facts, as to which I have no information, could be ascertained:—(1) the date when the Abbey acquired from Aschetill le Dispencer the two bovates at Waterfall, mentioned

¹ Henry de Ferrers, the father of Robert, was the Domesday tenant of Field, part of it being then held under him by Herbert and other part by Roger. How it, or any part of it, came into the possession of the Abbot of Burton I do not know, but I suppose that the Abbot must have acquired in some way the interest of one or both of these undertenants, and bestowed it upon his liegeman Erneuius, Andrew's predecessor there. After the exchange with Andrew, it appears to have come into the possession of Geoffrey de St. Maur, who was the tenant there at the time of the exchange between Abbot Nicholas and Bertram de Verdun, *circa* 1188–1197 (*Burton Cartulary*, pp. 42, 43). [When this was written, I had not observed that the Domesday Felede has been identified with Fauld in Hanbury parish, but I leave this note as it stood, as I do not understand why Robert de Ferrer's consent was required, unless he was the overlord.]

only in Survey A ; (2) the date of the death of Nigel de Repton, the freehold tenant at the time of Survey B of Potlock, where he had been succeeded by Geoffrey before the date of Survey A (*cf.* the deed in the *Burton Cartulary*, p. 34) ; and (3) the date of the death of Alured de Cumbrai, the freehold tenant at the time of Survey B of Willington, at which he had been succeeded by Umfrid before the date of Survey A. But accepting, as I think we may, Mr. Round's argument for 1127 [*qu.* 1126] being the latest possible date for this survey, I am inclined, for reasons which will be seen later at the end of this paper, to think that its date cannot be much earlier, and that we shall not be far out if we assign the year 1126 as its approximate date, which would make it almost exactly contemporaneous with the Peterborough survey known as the Black Book of Peterborough.

3. Next, as to the existence of alterations and additions in Survey B as it now stands. There are more indications than one of this, but perhaps the most striking one is afforded by the part dealing with Bromlege (Abbots Bromley). From this it appears that at the time when Survey B was made, Assol the priest was the tenant of 30 acres of inland as well as of the church and two bovates. From Survey A we learn that, when Aisculf the priest (evidently the same person) and his four fellow tenants of Bromley became "farmers" of the manor, he gave up the 30 acres of inland which he had previously held. It follows, therefore, that the letting to farm of this manor to the men of Bromley must have taken place subsequently to the making of Survey B, though prior to that of Survey A, and yet in Survey B we find a sentence beginning with the words "Hoc manerium habent," and ending with "extra firmam," which refers to this very transaction. The conclusion seems inevitable that this last passage must be a later addition. This, by the way, is also a further proof which is not mentioned by Mr. Round in this connection, though he does refer to it for another purpose later (*Staff. Coll.*, N.S., Vol. IX, p. 282), of his conclusion that Survey A is of somewhat later date than Survey B.

Further evidence of additions, not so conclusive but pointing in the same direction, is I think to be found in the description given in Survey B of Stretton (in Burton) as compared with the other account of the same place in Survey A. From Survey A

we learn that there were then 32 bovates of warland held by customary services (*ad opus*), and 32 bovates between warland and inland held at pecuniary rents (*ad malam*), altogether 64 bovates. The holders of these 64 bovates are then enumerated, and it will be found that, if we stop at the holding of the mill by Edwin for 20s., there have already been enumerated 32 bovates held by customary services and 30 held at pecuniary rents, besides 47 acres of inland which might possibly account for the other 2 bovates; but more probably Ordric son of Algar's 2 bovates, formerly held by Raven by customary services, should be included to make up the total number of 64. The part of the account of Stretton which follows this passage, and which really begins a fresh paragraph, is evidently a reduplication and a subsequent addition, as indeed we should naturally have inferred from the way in which many of these holdings are described by reference to the names of their previous occupiers: part of it is in fact referred to by Mr. Round (N.S., Vol. IX, p. 274) as being a later addition. If we turn now to the earlier Survey B, we find 18 *villani* then holding 36 bovates by customary services, and 8 *cenarii* holding 27 bovates of warland and inland by money payments, altogether 63 bovates, ending with Edwin of the mills, while 8 bovates were then lying waste, of which 2 were in the hands of a tenant. The subsequent part of this account of Stretton, in which other rent-paying tenancies are mentioned, seems here also to be a reduplication, and (as I suggest) must be a subsequent addition. It is also worth notice that in the earlier part of the same account we find over the names of two tenants, Ulnod the mason (*cementarius*) and Gamal,¹ two other names, Gilbert and William, inserted here evidently as corrections; and if we turn again to the later Survey A, we see what are obviously the same holdings entered under the names of Gilbert and William. This is another corroboration of Mr. Round's conclusion as to the priority *inter se* of the two surveys, and it fits in well with my suggestion as to the incorporation in Survey B also of later additions.

The view which appears to me to be most in accordance with the internal evidence, as well as being *a priori* the most probable

¹ Not *Cuinal*, as printed in Vol. V, part I, p. 25 Cf. also the Stretton deeds in the *Burton Cartulary*, *ibid.* pp. 31, 37.

one, is that Survey B was made late in 1114 or early in 1115, during Abbot Geoffrey's first year of office (as indicated by its fifteenth-century heading), and that it was altered and added to from time to time to bring it up to date, until a few years later—perhaps on the appointment of a new Subprior,¹ or it may be because the necessary alterations had become too numerous for incorporation—a new survey (*i.e.* Survey A) was made, in which also from time to time subsequent additions were incorporated as and when required. It should be remembered that the surveys as we know them from the *Burton Cartulary*, are not the original twelfth-century surveys themselves, but copies made by the monks probably in the following century (see General Wrottesley's preface, p. 6), so that no differences of handwriting or other distinguishing marks would be likely to appear on the face of the Cartulary, although in fact the later additions are sometimes indicated by the commencement of a fresh paragraph.

II. THE PRIORS OF BURTON ABBEY IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

The transcripts of deeds which follow the surveys in the *Burton Cartulary* (Vol. V, part I, pp. 30 *et. seq.*) are not arranged in precise chronological order, although most of the earlier ones are collected in groups under headings referring to the particular Abbot then presiding over the Abbey. There are there only two documents belonging to Abbot Nigel's time (1094–1114), one relating to Okeover (p. 30) and the other to the church of Stapenhill and the Stanton tithes (p. 32), and to the former of these the leading witness is Swegn, then Prior of the Abbey. A considerable number of the documents belonging to Abbot Geoffrey's time (1114–1150) and that of his immediate successors are in the same way attested by the Prior and sometimes by the Subprior as well, and from these we find that there were three Priors in Abbot Geoffrey's time, Swegn, Edwin, and Jordan, that Jordan continued as Prior through Abbot Robert's first term of office until his deposition (1150–1159), and was succeeded in Abbot Bernard's time (1160–1175) by Prior William, whilst

¹ It would seem from two documents printed in the *Annales Monastici* (Rolls Ser., i. 326–7) that in 1254 the Subprior of Burton was the person who had the charge or supervision of the Abbey lands and other immovable possessions.

Jordan acted as Subprior to Prior Edwin, Brien and Ralph to Prior Jordan, and Auden to Prior William : there was also a Prior William who attests a deed in Abbot Richard's time (1182-1188). Thus in tabular form we get :—

Abbot.	Prior.	Subprior.
Nigel (1094-1114). Geoffrey (1114-1150).	Swegn. Swegn. Edwin. Jordan.	Jordan. Brien.
Robert (1150-1159). Bernard (1159-1175).	Jordan. Jordan. William.	Brien. Ralph. Auden.
Robert (1175-1177). Roger (1178-1182). Richard (1182-1188).	William. William.	

Four deeds of Abbot Geoffrey's time, relating to Wetmore in Burton (pp. 33, 34), Potlock (p. 34), Leigh (p. 34) and Pillaton-hall (p. 35), were attested by Swegn as Prior, and one relating to Darlaston (p. 36) by both Swegn and Edwin as Priors :¹ other deeds of Abbot Geoffrey's time,² two relating to Stretton in Burton (p. 31), one to Winshill (pp. 31-32), one to Stapenhill (p. 32), two to Wolston (p. 33),³ three to Branstone (p. 33),³ and

¹ *Sic* in the Cartulary, but *qu.* whether Edwin should not have been Subprior, or possibly this deed passed at the chapter at which Edwin was appointed to succeed Swegn as Prior.

² I am indebted to Miss M. E. Cornford, the librarian at the William Salt Library, Stafford, for the information that she has found among the MSS. in that library a deed of Abbot Geoffrey, which evidently belongs to this same period. It is on vellum with rather a good seal, and is a grant by Abbot Geoffrey to Richard de Apleby of a small piece of meadow called Molinesholme and 6 acres on the heath, to hold with the land of his patrimony, *i.e.* 4 virgates of warland, for 5s. a year without any customary service. The deed is witnessed by first the chapter itself, *i.e.* Edwin prior, Edric, Durand, Cedric and the rest of the monks, then Frodmund de Horl' [Horninglow], Frau' Carp', Elmer, and Tochi de Apleby and others. The grantee and the four lay witnesses are all named in the Surveys, the grantee as a *consarius* at Appleby (Survey A), Fromund, Frawin and Elmer as *consarii* at Horninglow (both Surveys), and Tochi as a *purus villanus* at Appleby.

³ The names of the witnesses to one of the Wolston deeds and all three of the Branstone deeds are left out in the Cartulary as printed, but they are in fact given in the Cartulary itself.

one to Leigh (p. 35), were attested by Prior Edwin, while one relating to Darlaston was witnessed by Edwin as Prior and also by Jordan as Subprior: others again of the same group, one relating to Pillatonhall (p. 35) and one to Stretton in Burton (p. 36), were witnessed by Jordan as Prior and Brien as Subprior. Then in Abbot Robert's time we find two deeds, relating to Leigh (p. 37) and Heanor (pp. 37, 38), attested by Jordan as Prior, and several others, relating to Darlaston (p. 37), Pillatonhall (p. 37), Over (p. 38), and Willington (p. 44), attested by Jordan as Prior and also by Brien as Subprior.¹ In Abbot Bernard's time we have documents relating to Stretton in Burton (p. 38), Horninglow (p. 39), Leigh (p. 40), and Willington and other places (p. 44), witnessed by Jordan as Prior and Ralph as Subprior, and one relating to Brisincote (p. 39) by William as Prior and Auden as Subprior. It must therefore be to Abbot Robert's second term of office (1175-1177) that the deed relating to Horninglow (p. 37) witnessed by William as Prior must be assigned, as we do not hear of any Prior of the name of William before Abbot Bernard's time. At the end of the transcript of this deed in the *Burton Cartulary* are the words "Hanc donationem confirmavit prefato Guberto primum Bernardus Abbas et totus Conventus," which I take to refer not to a subsequent confirmation by Abbot Bernard of this actual deed (which would be inconsistent with my conclusion as to the sequence of the Priors), but to a previous confirmation by Abbot Bernard in full chapter of an earlier gift to Gubert or Guthbert, which may perhaps have been an enfeoffment by word of mouth without deed: this earlier gift was now again confirmed by Abbot Robert during his second term of office and made hereditary. It should be noticed that what appears to be the same holding was given by Abbot Bernard to Siward of Horninglow, whose ancestors had previously held it (p. 39). I understand this last to have been a gift for his life only, and I suppose that on his death a similar gift for life had been made by Abbot Bernard to Guthbert, who may have been Siward's son, and that subsequently Guthbert received from Abbot Robert this confirmatory grant in fee simple (p. 37).

¹ There was also a grant of Okeover by Abbot Robert to Ralph fitzOrm, to which the same Prior and Subprior were witnesses (*Mon. Ang.*, iii. 41).

Unfortunately, nearly all the above-mentioned documents are without date, so that it is impossible to say at what precise dates these Priors entered upon their office, but still it is of some use to know that the documents attested by Swegn must have been earlier than those attested by Edwin, while those attested by Edwin come before those attested by Jordan. And I think we are able to get a step nearer to ascertaining their approximate dates in the following way:—Survey A speaks of Darlaston as being then in farm to Orm for 60s., and a deed referring to this fee farm is set out in the Cartulary (p. 35): it was a grant for the lives of Orm and his son Robert, and the next deed set out (p. 36) is a similar convention with Robert, this latter deed being attested by Prior Swegn. This shews that Swegn was still Prior after the date of Survey A. Again, we know from the Cartulary (p. 34) that Andrew became tenant of Field in 1116, and he still held it at the date of Survey A: as we have already seen, he afterwards gave up Field and received from the Abbot a part of Leigh instead, the date of this exchange being apparently 1129, while the deed evidencing the transaction (p. 34) was also witnessed by Prior Swegn. It follows that Swegn must have held the office of Prior at any rate as late as the year 1129. The only definite date that we have in connection with Prior Edwin's period of office, so far as I am aware, is derived from the three Wolston deeds set out on pp. 32, 33, the first of which is dated 1132 and the third 1133: the second deed, which is not dated but is certainly subsequent to the one dated 1132 and was probably placed in its proper order before that dated 1133, was attested by Prior Edwin; and so in fact was also the deed of 1133, though his name is omitted in the Cartulary as printed.¹ After Abbot Robert's

¹ The date (*circa* 1114) attributed by General Wrottesley (p. 31, note) to the grant by Abbot Geoffrey to Orm and his heir of six bovates at Stretton (by Burton), which was also witnessed by Prior Edwin, must certainly be too early; for it is clear that Swegn continued Prior for a considerable time after Geoffrey become Abbot; moreover, Andrew of Leigh, another of the witnesses to this deed, did not obtain his holding at Leigh until he gave up Field, which he only received in 1116 and which he still held at the time of Survey A and apparently until 1129 or 1130 (*Staff. Coll.*, vol. i, pp. 1-2, 7). This Orm of Stretton must, I think, have been a different person from Orm of Darlaston, as the latter had been succeeded in his Darlaston holding by his son Robert while Swegn was still Prior (*Burton Cartulary*, p. 36).

time it does not appear to have been usual for the Priors to witness the Abbey deeds, though one deed of Abbot Richard's time (1182-1188) relating to Stapenhill was attested by William as Prior.

III. HAMPTON AND THE NEWTON TITHES.

In the *Burton Cartulary* (as printed in *Staff. Coll.*, Vol. V, part 1) the exchange between the Abbot of Burton and Ralph Fitz Urnoi (or Urvoi) of the Hampton land for the Newton tithes is referred to in three places, twice in the surveys (pp. 21, 27) and once in the deed itself in the Cartulary proper (p. 32): and in the three passages, as there transcribed, there appear various discrepancies, which have caused some difficulty. Thus in Survey B (p. 27) the Hampton land is described as containing two carucates, in Survey A (p. 21) as containing only one, whilst the amount of the tithe modus is given as xii s. in Survey A, but as viii s. in the Cartulary (p. 32). The greater particularity of the description in Survey A and its substantial agreement with the deed in the Cartulary, coupled with the difficulty or ambiguity of the grammatical construction of the statement in Survey B, led me to suspect some mistake in the latter, and I found on referring to the Cartulary itself at Beaudesert that my suspicions were well founded. In point of fact the apparent discrepancies do not really exist. The quantity of land as given in both surveys is really one carucate (not two),¹ while the amount of the tithe modus, as given both in Survey A and in the deed itself, proves to be vij s. instead of either xii s. or viii s. The mention in Survey B in this connection of the sum of vi s. as being included in the lxx s. rent paid by the "farmers" is not inconsistent with this, as the sum paid by the farmers would not necessarily, or even probably, be identical with the sum received by them from the tithe payer: some allowance would naturally be made to the farmers for expenses of collection, etc.² I would take this opportunity of correcting another little

¹ It is easy to see how the mistake arose. The word is given in figures with (as usual) a dot on each side, but in this case one of the dots is elongated, and at first sight the figure looks more like ii than i.

² In the same way Edda's rent of 20s. for Dodsleigh is reckoned in the farm of Leigh to Godric and Uluric as 18s. (Survey A).

mistake in the passages above referred to. Meriet, to whom the Abbey was indebted for the gift of Hampton, is really described both in Survey A and in the deed not as "presbyter noster" but as "*pater noster*," the word being in the case of the Survey written in full without any abbreviation. Does this mean that Meriet was actually and literally the father of Abbot Geoffrey?

Ralph Fitz Urnoi (or Urvoi)¹ is the earliest known ancestor of the de Weston lords of Weston-under-Lizard and Newton (*Staff. Coll.*, N.S., Vol. II, p. 12), and his son Robert Fitz Ralph appears as the owner of that fee in the *Liber Niger* (1166) and again in 1167 (*Staff. Coll.*, Vol. I, pp. 47, 214). Newton and Hampton are both in the parish of Blithfield and not far from Abbots Bromley. General Wrottesley has told us that the name Urnoi or Erneis is of Scandinavian origin and was in use among the Normans at the time of the Conquest. I do not know whether the name is a common one, but it does occur twice among the names of cottager tenants at Burton in Survey A as "Ernwi gard" [*qu. gardenarius*] and "Ernwi venator," once among the names of the *villani* at Stretton in Survey B as "Erneisus," and once among the names of the *censarii* at Winhill in the same survey as "Arnwi": it also occurs in the deed of 1116 relating to Field (*Burton Cartulary*, p. 34) as "Ernewius," the previous freehold tenant there before Andrew at a rent of 20s. My suggestion is that Urnoi, if that be the true form of the name of the father of Ralph lord of Weston and Newton, is the same person as Ernewius, the freehold tenant of Field, who was succeeded there by Andrew in the year 1116 and had in all probability then recently died: it is likely enough that his son Ralph, having by this time in some way acquired the fee of Weston and Newton, would not care to renew the tenancy of Field. This suggestion is little more than a conjecture, but it fits in so well with all the known facts and dates that it appears to me to be a highly probable one and worth notice. Ralph Fitz Urnoi's name occurs among the witnesses to a deed by R. [*qu. Robert or Roger*] bishop of

¹ Mr. Round writes the name as Urvoi, and I am bound to say that this is the form which it appeared to me to take in the *Burton Cartulary*, but the difficulty of distinguishing between the letters "n" and "u" is a commonplace.

Coventry in favour of Richard de Somerford (printed in *Staff. Coll.*, Vol. III, p. 178), the date of which is assigned by General Wrottesley to 1120-1126, but which for reasons presently stated I should myself have dated 1135-1138, and where his name occurs between those of Atrop (*i.e.* Eutrop de Hastang, son or grandson of Humfrid, the Domesday tenant of Chebsey and the bishop's tenant at Walton and Slindon) and Radulfus filius Briani (*i.e.* Ralph de Standon, whose father Brian was the Domesday tenant under Robert de Stafford of several manors in Staffordshire and elsewhere). Robert Fitz Ralph, the son of Ralph Fitz Urnoi and the undoubted lord of Weston and Newton half a century later, was dead in 1176 (*Staff. Coll.*, N.S., Vol. II, p. 12).

With respect to the date of the grant to Richard de Somerford, the reasons given by General Wrottesley for assigning the earlier date (1120-1126), are (1) that although the initial R may stand for either Robert (Peche), bishop of Coventry and Chester 1120-1126, or Roger (de Clinton), bishop of Coventry and Chester 1129-1148 [and successively Chancellor, Treasurer, and Chief Justice], the latter is known to have styled himself bishop of *Chester*, and (2) that the use of the word "concessisse" as the primary word of gift in the subsequent deed by bishop Roger (*Staff. Coll.*, Vol. III, p. 180) shews that it was a confirmation of a previous grant. But, as regards (1), although Dugdale says that both of these bishops, as well as their next three successors, styled themselves bishops of *Coventry* (*Hist. of Warwickshire*, i. 158), yet it would seem to be bishop Robert Peche, rather than his predecessor bishop Robert de Limesey (1086-1117), who attested a deed of Robert de Ferrers, styling himself bishop of *Chester* (*Staff. Coll.*, vol. V, pt. 1, pp. 32, 33); while bishop Roger de Clinton, though he seems to have usually styled himself bishop of *Chester* (*ib.*, vol. II, pp. 201, 206, 207, 208, 210, *etc.*) and is so styled in the Pipe Roll of 1129-30 (*ib.*, vol. I, p. 3) and in a charter of King Stephen, the date of which can be shewn to be 1135 or 1136 (*Mon. Ang.*, vi, 1248), was addressed as bishop of *Coventry* in a deed of Nicholas de Milwich certifying a grant to Stone Priory *c.* 1138-1148 (*Staff. Coll.*, vol. II, p. 217) as well as in several papal bulls of confirmation by Popes Innocent II., Celestinus II.,

and Lucius II., dated in 1139, 1143 and 1144 (*Mon. Ang.*, vi. 1250, 1252). So that there would be nothing improbable in his having himself also used both styles; and in fact we learn from Eytton, who cites charters of confirmation by him to Shrewsbury Abbey, that he actually did so (*Ant. of Shropshire*, ix, 28, 108). As regards (2), with deference to so great an authority as General Wrottesley, I find it quite impossible to accept this statement of his as correct. The word "concedo," though it may sometimes be used more loosely, is surely the usual and proper word of grant applicable to any incorporeal hereditament such as a seignory or the services of a freehold tenant, just as the word "do" would be to a gift of land or other corporeal hereditament, of which livery of seisin was required; and the use of the perfect tense "concessi" and "dedi" is only due to the fact that in those days a deed was looked upon rather as a record of a previous gift (which in the case of a feoffment at any rate would be made by word of mouth accompanied by livery of seisin) than as the actual gift itself: in point of fact "concessisse" is also used as the primary word of gift in the preceding deed, which General Wrottesley himself attributes to bishop Robert, and of which he supposes the second deed to be a confirmation. The more appropriate words for a confirmation of a previous grant would have been "confirmasse," "ratificasse," or "approbasse" (*Coke upon Littleton*, 295*b*); and in any case bishop Roger's deed certainly does not purport to be a confirmation of a previous gift by *someone else*. What appears to me to be a far more cogent and indeed almost conclusive argument on the other side, *i.e.* for the later date, is the fact, to which General Wrottesley himself calls attention (*Staff. Coll.*, Vol. III, pp. 181, 182), that in the *Liber Niger* (1166) bishop Richard (Peche) returned this holding as one of new feoffment, *i.e.* made after the death of Henry I (1135). And this is all the more significant when we remember that the bishop who made this return was the son of bishop Robert (Peche), and moreover had been archdeacon of Coventry for thirty-five years (1126-1161) before he was appointed bishop (*ib.*, Vol. II, pp. 198, 203, 207), and therefore presumably must have been fully acquainted with all the circumstances. The names of the witnesses, so far as they have been identified, are probably consistent with either view,

but they seem to me to point rather to the later date. Fulquinus, if the same person as Fulk de Horseley (as General Wrottesley suggests), was living as late as 1167 (*ib.*, Vol. I, pp. 47, 52); there was an Attrop or Eutrop de Hastang living in 1166 (*ib.*, Vol. I, pp. 147, 157), though he had a father of the same name living *temp.* Henry I. (Dugdale's *Warwickshire*, i. 316; *Mon. Ang.*, vi. 92, 93). Hamo Peverel, Ralph FitzBrian, and Coxo (or Gotso) the bishop's *dapifer* or steward, were all living in 1130 (*Staff. Coll.*, Vol. I, pp. 4, 8, 14; Vol. II, p. 205); Hamo Peverel was still alive when Stephen came to the throne in 1135 (*Mon. Ang.*, iii. 519) and in 1137 (Eyton's *Ant. of Shropshire*, vii. 353), but dead in 1138 (*ib.*, viii. 152, ix. 64, x. 232), while Ralph FitzBrian attests deeds ranging from *c.* 1125 to 1154 (*Staff. Coll.*, Vol. II, pp. 195, 201, 205, 206, 241). Ailward, if identical with Ailward de Canoc, and Robert Selvein were living after 1135, as they both witnessed bishop Roger's undoubted deed (*ib.*, Vol. III, p. 180). And William Peche is supposed to have been the predecessor of Geoffrey Peche, the bishop's tenant at Little Pipe in 1166, whose tenure, by the way, is returned by bishop Richard Peche as one of *new* feoffment, *i.e.* after 1135 (*ib.*, Vol. I, pp. 147, 159), not of *old* feoffment as stated in General Wrottesley's note (*ib.*, Vol. III, pp. 181-2). It may, no doubt, at first sight seem curious to find two deeds referring to the same transaction, executed by the same bishop under two different styles and with two almost entirely different sets of witnesses, but it should be noted that one is addressed to his co-bishops and successors (*coepiscopis successoribus omnibus suis*) and the other to all the clerks and laymen of his diocese (*omnibus totius Episcopatus Cestrie tam clericis quam laicis*); and, if there had been a previous feoffment or gift by word of mouth, I see nothing improbable in there being more than one deed recording the transaction. My own conclusion, therefore, would be that the date of this deed is not between 1120 and 1126, but between 1135, when king Henry I. died, and 1138, when Hamo Peverel, one of the witnesses, was also dead. I ought perhaps to apologise for this long digression, but it seemed to me to be of real importance that the true date should be assigned to one of the earliest of the Staffordshire post-Conquest deeds, which has itself been taken as a guide to the date of other deeds.

IV. OTHER EARLY DEEDS IN THE CARTULARY.

When the *Burton Cartulary* was before me, my attention was almost exclusively directed to the Surveys, and I did not attempt (nor should I have had time) to collate all the deeds as given in the printed edition with the original MS., but I did compare some of the earlier deeds, and made notes about them, which perhaps it may be useful to record here. From General Wrottesley's preface (p. 6) I had been led to expect that all the deeds had been reproduced literally and in full, but I found that this was not quite the case. In some instances the name of the leading witness is given in the original but omitted in the printed edition, and in a few cases words by no means unimportant are also omitted and replaced by the formula "etc."; and, as the same formula is also used in other places in the original, it is impossible to tell from the printed edition whether the omission occurs in the original MS. or only in the print. From the notes which I then took I am able to supply the name of Prior Swegn as the leading witness to one Wetmore deed (pp. 33, 34), and that of Prior Edwin as the leading witness to the last Wolston deed and the three Branston deeds (p. 33): I can also give in full a few deeds to which full justice is not done in the printed edition. Two of these are to be found on p. 31, the first being a grant to William de St. Alban of land at Stretton (by Burton), and the second a grant to Fromund of land at Winshill and Horninglow. They are as follows:—

CARTA W. DE SANCTO ALBANO DE TERRA DE STRATONA.

Hec est conventio que facta est inter Galfridum Abbatem et Willelmum de Sancto Albano; facta est autem in capitulo Burtonie coram fratribus: Concessit ei Abbas in feofirma id est ipsi Willelmo et heredi ejus terram que fuit Gamel de Stretona etc. id est .v. bovatas de Warlanda et .ix. acras de Inlanda solutas et quietas etc. et ipse Gamel per redemptionem sui et suorum exivit et recessit ab Abbata et a terra Abbacie solutus et quietus ut iret quocumque vellet. Et cum istis .v. bovatis et .ix. acris predictis concessit ei Abbas id est ipsi Willelmo alias .iiij. bovatas de Warlanda et .ij. bovatas de inlanda et .iiij. acras terre et unam prati solutas et quietas et liberas ab omnibus consuetudinibus. Et preter istam terram addidit ei quoddam virgultum pirorum et unum angulum prati qui vocatur prevosteshall. Ipse autem Willelmus facit hommagium Abbati ligium et juravit fidelitatem Ecclesie et debet reddere pro hac terra prefata viij. s. quoque anno. Concessit etiam ei

Abbas procuracionem unius monachi in vita sua, et cum obierit vel cum monachus factus fuerit, concessit eandem procuracionem uxori ejus Albrede, quamdiu et ipsa vivet et legaliter se *continebit*, tamen sine hereditate aliqua. *Concessit quoque ei id est ipsi Willelmo ut habeat ubi faciat domum in Burthona, concessit ei inquam illam terram solutam et quietam in qua sedent duo homines, Hugo videlicet et Edricus, quorum servicium donavit ei.* horum omnium esse heredem concesserunt et Abbas et monachi Rainaldum filium ejus post ipsum, et non clamet hereditatem in procuracionem monachi. Hujus conventionis et concessionis testes sunt *primum ipsum capitulum in quo facta est concedentibus monachis omnibus, deinde* etc.

DE WINESHULLA ET HORNINGLOWE.

Ego Gaufridus Abbas Bertonie et monachi mecum concedimus huic Fromundo ligio homini nostro parum terre in Burtona ad faciendum domum etc. et .iiij. bovatas et dimidiam in Wineshille et .ij. bovatas in Horninglawe et .xiiij. acres terre de inlanda pro quinta bovata et .ij. croftas pro sexta bovata, id est simul .viiij. bovatas et dimidiam et preter has .iiiiij. acras et i. rodam de inlanda et procuracionem unius monachi quamdiu vixerit pro servitio corporis sui et sine hereditate. Hec omnia excepta procuracione cibi concedimus ei et heredi ejus pro .viiij. s. quoque anno soluta et quieta a consuetudinibus nisi quod prestabit aratrum suum semel in hyeme et semel in quadragesima. *Hujus concessionis testes sunt* etc. Edwinus Prior etc.

The Ticknall deed on p. 32, and two of the three Branston deeds and one Wetmore deed on p. 33, are also perhaps worth reproduction in full :—

DE TERRA DE TICHENHALA.

Ego Gaufridus Abbas et monachi Burton mecum concedimus in feudum et hereditatem domino Roberto de Ferrariis et heredibus suis tenere de nobis et de ecclesia illam terram de Tichenhale quam tenuit pater suus pro .x. s. quoque anno *ad festum Sancti Martini*. Et hoc est servitium quod ipse debet facere ecclesie et Abbati et monachis. Debet reddere similiter ad festum Sancti Martini .x. s. *per unumquemque annum* et debet diligere et manutenere nos et ecclesiam nostram et per se et per suos sicut amicus et tutor ipsius ecclesie *similiter per omnia et heredes ejus succedentes sibi*. Hujus conventionis et concessionis testes sunt *primum ipsum capitulum deinde* etc.

DE BRONTISTONE.

Ego Galfridus Abbas et Monachi etc. Concedimus huic Godwino et heredi ejus in feufirmam in Brantistona unam acram et i. bovatom de Inlanda et .iiiiij. bovatas de Warlanda etc. *Et hoc est servitium quod debet facere pro eis id est reddere ecclesie .v. sol. quoque anno.* Hujus concessionis testes sunt etc. Edwinus Prior etc.

Ego Gaufridus Abbas Burtoniensis Cenobii etc. Concessimus Herberto nepoti meo sicut nostro ligio homini terram que fuit Ormi de Brantiston sicut eam tenebat quando fuit vivus et mortuus et per idem servitium per quod eam ipse Ormus tenuerat *Et preter hoc concessimus sibi et alteram procurationem de abbacia et prebendam ad duos equos omnibus diebus vite sue. Hujus etc. Edwinus Prior etc.*

DE WITHMERE.

Hec est conventio inter Gaufridum Abbatem et Radulfum filium Willelmi de Ansedele. Concessit ei Abbas id est ipsi Radulfo et heredi ejus in feudum illam terram quam tenuerat pater suus de Abbacia id est unam partem terre que ad Withmere pertinet, et hoc est servitium quod debet ei facere pro illa terra, fecit ei hommagium Radulfus id est ipsi Abbati et debet esse ad placita ejus in Staffordsiria ubicumque Abbas voluerit si fuerit advenienter submonitus, nisi forte habeat excusationem necessariam etc. sive de infirmitate sive de servitio domini sui Roberti de Ferrariis cujus homo ligius est et debet reddere ecclesie Burtonensi quoque anno .vi. sol. .vi. d. *ad festivitatem sancti Thome Apostolici in quo die et hec conventio facta est et per hoc denominatum servitium et censum debet esse. quietus et liber ab omnibus aliis servitiis et etiam a geldo regis.* Hujus concessionis et conventionis testes sunt *primum* Suegnus Prior etc.

In all these deeds I have marked by italics the passages which are to be found in the original Cartulary but are omitted in the printed edition. I believe that these reproductions are accurate, but they are made from the notes which I took some time ago at Beaudesert, and I have not had any opportunity of checking them since with the original.

Although very few of the early deeds in the Cartulary are dated, their approximate dates can often be determined by the names of the witnesses or by comparison with the statements in the Surveys. The earliest ones appear to be Abbot Nigel's grant of Okeover to Orm (p. 30), and the convention between Geoffrey de Eglinton and Abbot Nigel about the patronage of Stapenhill Church (p. 32); the Ticknall grant by Abbot Geoffrey to Robert de Ferrers (p. 32), which must have been prior to Survey B, and the enfeoffment of Andrew at Field in succession to Ernewius in 1116 (p. 34); the grant of Darlaston to Orm (p. 35), which was certainly before Survey A and may have been before Survey B also; the enfeoffment of William de St. Alban at Stretton (p. 31), the convention with Ralph Fitz Urnoi about Hampton and the Newton tithes (p. 32), the grant of land at Wetmore to Ralph,

son of William de Ansedele (p. 33), the grant of land at Potlock to Geoffrey (p. 34), the grant of Dadeslege (Dodsleigh) to Edda (p. 34), and the grant of land at Pillatonhall and Bedington to Edwin (p. 35), all of which are evidently dated between Survey B and Survey A; the convention with Robert de Ferrers (p. 49, and *cf. Staff. Coll.*, N.S., Vol. VII, p. 7), which was witnessed by Robert Bishop of Chester, and therefore cannot be later than 1126; and the exchange with Andrew of (part of) Leigh for Field (p. 34), which was attested by Prior Swegn, and therefore before 1133, but which must have been subsequent to both Surveys. All the deeds attested by Prior Edwin must be assigned to a date later than 1129, and of these the earliest of which the exact date is known is dated in 1133.

Mr. Round (*Staff. Coll.*, N.S., Vol. IX, p. 276) has called attention to the prevalence in the *Burton Cartulary* of leases for *two* lives. There are more than twenty of these, most of them made to the grantee "et heredi ejus," but occasionally the second life is the son of the grantee, as in Abbot Nigel's grant of Okeover (p. 30), or even a named son, as in Abbot Geoffrey's grant of Darlaston (p. 35). By far the greater number of these grants for two lives were made by Abbot Geoffrey (1114-1150), including one of land in Stretton (p. 31) which General Wrottesley erroneously described as the earliest feoffment in fee made by the monks.¹ So far as I can make out, the earliest feoffment *in fee*—and in fact the only one that can with certainty be attributed to Abbot Geoffrey's time—is the Ticknall grant (p. 32), which I have reproduced more fully above. Altogether I reckon one grant for two lives made by Abbot Nigel, thirteen by Abbot Geoffrey, five by Abbot Robert (including one on p. 44), and two by Abbot Bernard. During this period grants of this nature began to grow more and more scarce, and afterwards they appear to have been entirely superseded by grants in fee simple.

¹ The words "*primum ipsum capitulum*" do not, of course, imply that this was the first chapter held after Abbot Geoffrey's election, but merely that the Prior and monks in chapter assembled were the first witnesses to the deed, the other witnesses' names being introduced by the word "*deinde*." *Cf.* the Okeover grant at pp. 69, 70, and two deeds, *ante*, p. 263.

V. THE ABBEY TENANTS.

Professor Maitland, in his *Domesday Book and Beyond* (pp. 23-79), discusses the various classes of the tillers of the soil mentioned in Domesday, and he begins by referring to the questions put to the Cambridgeshire jurors as recorded in the *Inquisitio Eliensis* (D.B., iv. 497). So far as material for the present purpose these questions were as follows:—" *Quot villani ? quot cotarii ? quot servi ? quot liberi homines ? quot sochemanni ? quantum ibi quisque liber homo vel sochemannus habuit vel habet ?*" Professor Maitland explains the (at first sight rather curious) order in which the five classes are mentioned by the fact that for the first three the lord was primarily answerable to the geld, while for the last two he was not primarily answerable: and this explanation also shews why it was only as regards the last two classes that further inquiries were made as to the amounts of their respective holdings. We cannot tell whether the questions put to the Staffordshire jurors were in precisely the same form, but there is no reason to suppose that they were not; and it would only be natural that the answers should take various forms in different counties. Professor Maitland points out that, while *villani* and *bordarii* occur in every county, *cotarii* and *coscets* occur in comparatively few. In Staffordshire at any rate the usual answer mentions the five classes as *villani*, *bordarii*, *servi*, *liberi homines* and *sochemanni*, the last three occurring only occasionally. Maitland's conclusion (pp. 38, 40) is that the lines which divided *villani*, *bordarii*, *cotarii* and *coscets* were economic rather than legal, and that perhaps in a general way we may endow the *villanus* with a virgate or a quarter of a hide, while we ascribe to the *bordarius* a less quantity and doubt whether the *cotarius* usually had arable land.

Mr. Adolphus Ballard, in his *Domesday Inquest* (pp. 105-164), also has an instructive chapter on what he calls "the humbler folk," which he discusses as they existed at four different periods (1) before the Conquest, (2) 1066, (3) 1086 and (4) after the Conquest. As regards the third, *i.e.* the Domesday period, he summarises the position (p. 155) as follows:—

On the whole the distinction between the five classes enumerated in the questions put to the Cambridgeshire jurors appears to be economic rather

than legal. The slaves were maintained by their lords; the bordars occupied small areas of land, and worked one day a week on their lord's demesne; the villans occupied larger areas which they cultivated by the plough, and for which they worked two or three days a week on their lord's demesne, and rendered team labour. The sokeman differed from the villans in that their services were merely occasional and not regular; and the freeholders differed from the sokeman only in owing services to the king alone or to some grantee of the king.

And with regard to this third period he discusses the disappearance of the freeholders in many counties, the decrease of sokemen and their conversion into villans from whom the lord exacted week work, and the increase of bordars at the expense of villans and slaves.

All these classes except the *servi*, who do not appear to have existed on any of the Burton Abbey estates even at the time of Domesday,¹ are still to be found on these estates at the time of the twelfth century surveys. The *cotarii*, who here at any rate were generally represented in Domesday by *bordarii*, appear now as *cotseti*, though there is still an occasional mention of *bordarii*: the *sochemanni* are to be found only at Winshill, as is also the case in the Domesday Survey, except that there one *sochemannus* occurs at Stanton in Derbyshire then held by Henry de Ferrers. A new and increasingly large class are now the *censarii*, or holders *ad malam*, a class which apparently included a few freehold tenants, such as William de St. Alban at Stretton, William de Rolveston (or de Anslow) at Wetmore, and I think Orm at Branston and Fromund at Horninglow, and probably a few others, but which also included, and in the main consisted of, tenants who had once been either *villani* or *cotseti* holding *ad opus*, but whose regular week work had been commuted for money payments. In addition, however, to their money payments these *censarii* were all liable to render occasional services such as fence-work, providing their ploughs (not apparently actually ploughing themselves—at least it is not expressly so stated), and reaping. In the *English Historical Review* for January, 1896 (Vol. XI, pp. 98–102), there is an interesting

¹ At Stretton-super-Dunsmore there were eight *servi* mentioned in Domesday, but these were on the whole of the five hides there belonging to Henry de Ferrers.

article by Mr. F. Baring on Domesday and the *Burton Cartulary*, in which he gives in tabular form some carefully prepared statistics, taken from Domesday and the two Burton Surveys, and shewing the quantities or numbers at their respective dates of the assessments, demesnes, villanage, *villani*, *bovarii*, warland at rent, and *censarii* on ten of the Burton Abbey manors; and from a comparison of these particulars he draws the inference that on these manors at any rate the Domesday compilers deliberately omitted from the great Survey the tenants for rent and the lands they held. Against such a conclusion there is surely a strong *a priori* presumption, and it is not a conclusion that one would be disposed to accept without clear proof. Whether, or to what extent, if any, Mr. Baring's views would have been modified, if he had then known that Survey A was somewhat later than Survey B, of course we cannot tell. But in any case I think it may be doubted whether he has given sufficient weight to the natural increase of population to be expected in the course of a generation, or to the fact, of which there is evidence even in the Burton Abbey Surveys, that considerable parts of these manors lay waste at the time of Domesday and were only in process of being brought back into cultivation when the Burton Abbey Surveys were made.¹ These considerations, coupled with the tendency, shewn by a comparison of the two Burton Abbey Surveys with one another, to convert the villanage or customary holdings into rent-paying tenancies, would rather lead me to see in the *villani* of Domesday the predecessors in most cases of both the *villani* and the *censarii* of the Burton Abbey Surveys, and to infer that when the Domesday Survey was compiled the *censarii* did not exist here as a separate class. Domesday does indeed mention one person holding under the Abbot at a rent, viz. under Acoure (Okeover), which Eddulfus then held "ad censum," but, as he was the tenant of the whole manor, he would doubtless be classed among the "*liberi homines*." In other parts of the country *censores* and *censarii* are mentioned occasionally in Domesday, e.g. in Yorkshire under Poglinton (i. 299*b*), Hoton (i. 314), and Cherendebi

¹ Professor Maitland, in a note to his *Domesday Book and Beyond*, p. 363, has expressed a doubt whether Mr. Baring had conclusively proved his case.

(i. 333), and again in Nottinghamshire under Gunnulueston and Miletune (i. 287).

Something should be said about each of the five classes above referred to; and taking them in the natural order of precedence, I will begin with the *liberi homines*.

1. As regards the Burton Abbey manors Domesday mentions only "duo homines" at Derlauestone (Darlaston), "unus liber homo" at Lege (Leigh), Eddulfus holding "ad censum" at Acoure (Okeover), and Navven holding under the Abbot at Witestone (Whiston). By the time of the Burton Abbey Surveys this class had very largely increased. If we may consider as *liberi homines* not only those who are called *libere tenentes* in the Cartulary but also all those who are described in the Surveys as owing suit of court or the service of their bodies, this class will include Orm¹ at Branston (Cartulary, p. 33), William de St. Albans and Orm (of Okeover) at Stretton (p. 31), Fromund and William de Rolveston (or de Anslow) at Wetmore and Horninglow (pp. 31, 33), Ralph FitzUrnoi (or Urvoi) at Hampton (p. 32), Lewin as well as Orm (the "farmer") at Okeover (pp. 21, 27, 30), Andrew and Edda at Field and Dodsleigh (pp. 34, 35), Orm at Darlaston (p. 35), Nablus or Navenus (apparently the Domesday tenant) at Whiston (pp. 22, 28), Edwin at Bedington and Pillatonhall (p. 35), Geoffrey at Potlock (p. 34), Alured de Cambrai and afterwards Unfrid at Willington (pp. 23, 28, 39), Mabon and his son John at Brislinecote (pp. 24, 29, 39), Geoffrey de Clinton at Stanton (p. 32), Robert de Ferrers at Ticknall (p. 32), Lepsi and Robert son of Fromund at Winshall (pp. 29, 31), William Fitz Nigel [de Gresley] at Cauldwell (p. 24), and Ranulf, Frane, and the three sons of Aluric at Appleby (p. 30). It may be that the six tenants of large holdings at Leigh should also be included.

2. In dealing with his fourth period and the post-Domesday

¹ We meet with the name Orm in connection with Branston, Stretton, Okeover, Leigh, and Darlaston, and it is not clear how many different persons there were of that name. Orm of Stretton and Orm of Okeover were certainly the same person. Orm of Branston (possibly also the same person) was succeeded there by Herbert, a nephew of the Abbot; Orm of Leigh by Godric and Wulfric. Orm of Darlaston, or Orm le Gulden, had two sons, Robert and Ralph, as to whom see General Wrottesley's notes in the Cartulary, pp. 13, 36.

evidence Mr. Ballard makes use of the Burton Abbey Surveys, and as regards the *sochemanni*, whom he apparently regards as substantially the same as the *censarii*, he points out (*Domesday Inquest*, p. 159) that at Winshill, where alone this class existed, the services of the *sochemanni* were exactly the same as those of the *censarii* at Stretton. This is substantially correct, though there were other duties, such as occasional attendance at the hunt (*ad cazas*), to which the Winshill *sochemanni* were also liable, but not the Stretton *censarii*. But he omits to state that at Winshill itself there were *censarii* as well as *sochemanni*; and now that we have the full text of the surveys we see that the services of the Winshill *censarii* were the same as those of the *censarii* at Stapenhill and differed to some extent from those of the *censarii* at Stretton, the liability to fence-work for instance being more onerous at the former place; so that at Winshill the services of the *sochemanni* and the *censarii* were by no means identical. The distinctive mark of the *sochemannus* at Winshill seems to be that on his death his heirs had to pay 16s. for a heriot, which shews that his estate was an estate of inheritance descendible to heirs, whereas, as I understand the position of a *censarius* at that time, the tenancy usually came to an end at his death and under the most favourable circumstances would not last longer than two lives. Is it fanciful to suggest that the *sochemannus* may have been the real prototype of the customary freeholder of later days, between whom and a copyholder (the representative of the old *villanus*) the main (if not the only) point of difference is that, while both are said to hold their lands by copy of court roll according to the custom of the manor, the copyholder only is expressed to hold "at the will of the lord." In course of time, as fixity of tenure began to prevail in the case of the *villanus* also, and the "will of the lord" to become a mere form of expression without any effective force, the presumably well-known incidents of tenure of the *sochemannus* or customary freeholder, including the payment of the heriot on death, would naturally form a precedent on which the incidents of copyhold tenure also would be based. However this may be, my general conclusion is that the *sochemannus*, while he differed from the freeholder in being usually restrained from alienation and commendation without the consent of the lord, is to be distinguished from the

villanus and from most of the *censarii* also in having an estate which on his death descended to his heirs.

3. Of the *villani* little need be said here. Their position is well known, and on the Burton Abbey estates they were all liable to week work on the lord's demesne for two days a week, besides the occasional services which varied on the different manors.

4. The *bordarii*, though frequently mentioned in connection with the Burton Abbey manors in Domesday,¹ are but rarely mentioned in the Burton Abbey Surveys, and they seem to have been already dying out as a class: they do, however, occur occasionally, e.g., in Survey B under Field "Edeva est bordaria et operatur i die," and in the same Survey under Wolston mention is made of Abbot Nigel having had there "*duos bordarios.*" A *bordarius* at Stretton (by Burton) is also mentioned in a deed of Abbot Bernard's time, 1150-1159 (Cartulary, p. 37). It seems probable that the holding of a *bordarius*, though smaller than that of a *villanus*, was generally larger than that of a *cotsetus*, and perhaps varied from a few acres up to a bovate (cf. Ballard's *Domesday Inquest*, p. 152; Maitland's *Domesday Book and Beyond*, p. 40; Vinogradoff's *Growth of the Manor*, pp. 338, 374), and that his work on the lord's demesne lands was usually at any rate limited to one day in the week. Inasmuch as in Domesday in the case of the Burton Abbey manors the *bordarii* are always mentioned in connection with the plough-teams, I would suggest that here at any rate they formed a class of smaller agricultural tenants, each of them being usually the possessor of an ox which he contributed to the common plough-team. But the distinction between a *bordarius* and a *cotsetus* is not at all clear.²

¹ There were 3 at Branston, 2 at Stretton, 1 at Abbots Bromley, and 2 at Whiston (all in Staffordshire), 4 at Austrey (in Warwickshire), 10 at Mickleover and its berewicks, 1 at Appleby, and 3 at Cotes (all in Derbyshire). In Field, which is entered under the name of Henry de Ferrers and his subtenants, Herbert and Roger, there were 4 *bordarii* holding under Herbert and 2 under Roger. [But as to Field see the addition to my note, *ante*, p. 250.] In Wolston, then held entirely by Earl Roger de Montgomery and Rainald under him, there were 19 *bordarii*.

² Professor Maitland (*Domesday Book and Beyond*, pp. 39, 40) points out that "cot" is an English word, "borde" a French one (which may perhaps account for the tendency of the latter name to disappear from use in the vernacular); and he says that the successors of the *bordarii* seem to become in the later documents either *villani* with small or cottiers with large tenements.

5. The *cotseti* (which as a class I take to correspond with the cotsetles of the times before the Conquest, and to be entered in Domesday sometimes as "*coscets*," sometimes as "*cotarii*," and sometimes as "*bordarii*"), are not in Domesday mentioned under that name in connection with any of the Burton Abbey manors; and I presume that on these manors they must have been entered there as *bordarii*, if indeed they were of sufficient importance to be entered at all. They occur frequently in the Burton Abbey Surveys, and always, I think, as working (like the *bordarii*) one day a week on the lord's demesne: they appear as holders of a house or curtilage, and sometimes of a small piece of land, such as a garden or croft, or an acre or two of meadow, or both, and occasionally of as much as five acres or even a bovate of land as well. (See under Littleover, Stapenhill, and Austrey in Survey B and under Stretton in Survey A.)¹ We read also in Survey B under Wetmore of "*terra cotsetorum*," which seems to have then been held not entirely by the "*cotseti*." They may be said as a class to correspond in a general way with the cottagers of the present day.

Besides, or rather included in, these various classes of tenants were divers skilled labourers or craftsmen who had their own special work to do, *e.g.*, the *bovarii*, who had charge of the oxen in the lord's plough-team (half a plough-team or four oxen to each *bovarius*, as Mr. Round has pointed out in connection with Stapenhill), and whose wives worked one day in the week for the lord: these usually each held one bovate of land, though occasionally twice that number (as at Stretton, where the *bovarii* were all *villani*). Then there were the *prepositi*, *i.e.*, prevosts, reeves, or bailiffs, whose business it was to collect the rents and to superintend all the labour and the general working of the manor, the *vaccarii* (cowmen), *equarii* (stud-grooms), *forestarii* or *foresterii* (foresters), *coci* (cooks), *pistores* (bakers), *celarii* or

¹ In a postscript to the description of Stretton in Survey A we meet with an Ailwinus or Alwin *cotsetus* holding a house and croft of inland and an acre of meadow, and again later an Ailwinus *halsoen* holding four acres of land and one of meadow. In a deed already mentioned of Abbot Bernard's time (1150-1159), set out in the Cartulary (p. 37), we read of a *bordarius* there of the name of Ailwinus with three acres of land and a *mansura*. It may well be that these were all one and the same person.

celerarii (cellarers), *pontarii* (bridge-keepers), *carpentarii* (carpenters), *tornatores* (turners), *cementarii* (masons), *fabri* (blacksmiths), *aurifabri* (goldsmiths), *molendinarii* (millers), *gardenarii* (gardeners), *venatores* (huntsmen), *sutores* (cobblers), *parmentarii* (tailors), a *ratchenistus* (riding-man), a *palmer* (pilgrim), a *medicus* (physician), a *mercator* (pedlar), a *wardebois* (wood-warden), a *ioculator* (jester), and a *daia* (milkmaid)—most, if not all of these being words which explain themselves. Mention is also made of a *bracedorius*, whom I take to be a maltster (= the *bracharius* of the *Black Book of Peterborough*, Cam. Soc., Vol. 47, p. 167), and a *saluerius*, which probably should be *salnerius*, i.e., *salinerius* or salter. Some of the surnames are obviously nicknames, e.g., *ad barbam*, *magnus*, *flavus*, *surdus*; but there are other names, most of them probably of Saxon origin, the exact meaning of which is not at all clear. What, for instance, is meant by such names as *bissop*, *brito*, *cados*, *colebras* or *calebras*, *copro*, *det*, *fiton*, *fot*, *freticorn*, *gup*, *hachepin*, *halsoen*, *le sele*, and *wite*? *Brito* may perhaps mean a Welshman or a Breton, *copro* a dung gatherer (from *κόπρος*), *freticorn* a thresher, *hachepin* a chopper of pegs, *le sele* (of) the hall, and *wite* a wise man. Can there be any connection between *gup* and "gyp," the (Cambridge) college servant of the present day? *Halsoen* is evidently some office-holder, for under Stretton in Survey A we read that Ailwin halsoen held four acres of land and one of meadow of inland for 12*d.* "quamdiu fuerit halsoen," and what is obviously the same word occurs on the Court Rolls of the manor of Barton-under-Needwood for the year 1365, where the *halswanus* presents an ash-coloured mare (*jumentum docenum*) *de vago*, and John Kytson is chosen for the office of *halswanus* (*History of Tatenhill parish*, by Sir Reginald Hardy, i. 168, ii. 48). I presume that in English the word would be hall-swain, but it is not clear what would be the duties of the office.

In Domesday the only mention of a *presbyter* on the Burton Abbey manors occurs under the heading of Brunlege (Abbots Bromley). In the Abbey Surveys the name of the *presbyter* at Abbots Bromley is given as Aisculf or Assol, and we also find among the tenants of Wetmore in Staffordshire a *presbyter* Ailwin holding a house and croft of inland, and working one day a week like the *vaccarius*. Churches are mentioned in the

Abbey surveys at Mickleover, Derby (see under Littleover), and Willington, each of these being served by a priest of the name of Godric; there is a priest called Roger at Appleby, and a deacon called Elwin at Cauldwell, these places being all in Derbyshire. In Staffordshire a church at Leigh is mentioned. It appears to be as a tiller of the soil that a *presbyter* is generally (if not always) mentioned in Domesday, and the absence of such mention at any place does not involve the conclusion that no church existed there at that time.

VI. INLAND AND WARLAND.

Throughout the two Surveys we find the lands divided into "inland" and "warland." General Wrottesley, in a note to p. 18 of the Cartulary, explains that the inlands were the lands held in demesne and not liable to taxation like the land in the hands of tenants; and yet there are frequent passages to be found in the Surveys which mention portions of warland as being then held by the Abbot in demesne and portions of inland as being then in the hands of the tenants. There can be little doubt that at the date of these Surveys the real, and for the purposes of the Surveys very important, distinction between inland and warland was that the latter was liable to taxation for Danegeld or other public purposes of the Crown, while the former was not.¹ Thus, in Survey B, under Appleby, we read "*nihil inlandæ est, id est quæ sit sine gildo regis*": so, too, under Winshill we find the contrast drawn between "*inlanda*" and "*altera terra geldabilis*," of which five bovates were then *in demesne*: and many other instances might be adduced. But the liability to Danegeld must have been imposed at a date long anterior to the Surveys, at a time when the inland may well have been identical with the Abbot's demesne lands² and the warland with lands in the hands of his

¹ On this subject see Professor Vinogradoff's *Growth of the Manor*, pp. 225-227, 230, 284-285.

² Here "demesne land" is used in the more restricted sense, in which it was understood in the earliest times, *viz.*, the lord's home farm: in later days all the lands held by copyholders (the successors of the old *villani*) were considered as parcel of (not held of) the manor, and therefore in the eye of the law deemed to be part of the demesne lands, though not actually in the occupation of the lord of the manor.

tenants. And it is only in accordance with what one would have expected to find, that afterwards, when any warland came into the Abbot's hands and so became held in demesne, the liability to taxation remained, while any part of the inland that had in the meantime been granted out to tenants still remained free from taxation, except indeed in so far as a tax had been imposed for the benefit of the lord, and was payable into the coffers of the Abbot. Thus, in Survey A under Bromley we are told that "*inter inlandam et warlandam sunt .xxxij. bovatae preter dominium quas tenent homines hoc modo,*" etc. Again, under Appleby, we see that, although there was no inland, yet according to Survey A twenty-four, or according to Survey B thirty-four, out of forty-nine virgates of warland were then held in demesne: the case is the same with two out of eight virgates at Okeover (Survey B), with eight out of twenty-eight bovates at Field (Survey A), with seven out of thirty-two bovates at Willington (Survey A), and with four out of ten virgates at Austrey (both Surveys): and, when one-third of Brislincote was retained in the Abbot's hands, he remained answerable for the tax on ("*adquievit ad gildum regis*") the part so retained by him (Survey B). Again, under Wetmore in Survey B we read that William de Rolveston holds half a hide for 6s. "*quam adquietat de gildo regis,*" while in Survey A we are told that Ralph, son of William [de Ansedele]¹ holds half a hide "*sicut inlandam*" for 6s. 6d.; and the deed itself, which I have set out more fully above (p. 264), shews that this last expression is equivalent to "*quietam et liberam . . . a geldo regis.*" On the other hand we find under Stretton (Survey A) that Edric son of Algar "*gildat Abbati*" for four bovates of inland, and that Raven son of Leueric "*debet gildare Abbati*" for two bovates of inland, and under Wetmore (Survey B) we read that "*gildum regis de hac terra cotsetorum, quicumque eam habeat sive villanus sive censarius, debet ire in marsupium Abbatis,*" and a little lower down that Godric, brother of Uluric de Horninglow, "*debet dare Abbati gildum regis de .ij. bovatis inlandae,*" and that Uluric,

¹ This surname is supplied from the Cartulary, p. 33, which shews that William de Ansedele (Anslow) and William de Rolveston (Rolleston) must have been the same person.

“debet Abbati gildare quod tenet de terra cotsétorum.”¹ Again, at the end of the account of Burton in Survey B we are told that Widsi holds one house and one acre for 12*d.*, “et quamquam de inlanda est debet gildare Abbati et facere ceteras consuetudines.”

VII. WARÆ.

This word “*wara*” represents the old Anglo-Saxon word “*wer*,” used for “defence” in the sense of assessment or answer to the demand for geld. It is not often used as a word by itself in the Burton Abbey Surveys, but we find it under the descriptions of Darlaston and Whiston (in both surveys), where a half *wara* seems to have been the usual holding of a *villanus*. In all probability a *wara* was originally an unit, or a subdivision of an unit, of assessment for taxation, and we meet with it in contrast with “*cotelanda*” in two Stone deeds dated about the year 1130 (*Staff. Coll.*, Vol. II, pp. 201, 204), where it may well mean a share of the warland or taxed land, and *cotelanda* a share of the *terra cotsetorum*, which would be inland. Professor Vinogradoff (*Villanage in England*, 1892, pp. 238–243), after explaining the use of the word “*wara*” as being a term of assessment, which may or may not correspond with the actual size of the holding, says (p. 243), “We often find the expression ‘ad inwaram’ in ‘Domesday, and it corresponds to the plain ‘ad gildum Regis.’ “If a manor is said to contain seven hides ‘ad inwaram’² it is “meant that it pays to the king for seven hides, although there “may have been more than seven plough-teams and plough-lands. Another expression of like import is ‘pro septem hidis “‘se defendit erga Regem.’ The Burton Cartulary, the earliest “survey after Domesday, employed the word ‘wara’ in the same “sense.” Mr. Round (*Feudal England*, 1895, p. 137) criticizes this passage and says: “Of the statement as to the Burton Cartulary one can positively say that it is an error. Its waræ have quite

¹ The *terra cotsetorum* appears to have been part of the inland, for under Stapenhill the holdings of the four *bovarii* are described in Survey B as being “de terra cotsetorum,” while in Survey A they are spoken of as being “de inlanda,” and Ailwin fretecorn is described as holding three acres of inland “sicut cotsetus.”

² The phrase “ad inwaram,” which Professor Vinogradoff found but Mr. Round could not find in Domesday, occurs in the Black Book of Peterborough (*Cam. Soc.*, Vol. 47, App. p. 159).

“another meaning, and are spoken of as virgates would elsewhere “be.” But in the very next passage he goes on to say, “Collation “with what I have termed the Northamptonshire geld roll renders “it clear that ‘waræ’ in Domesday represents the old English “word for ‘defence’ in the sense of assessment, the ‘defendit se’ “formula of the great survey,” which seems to be not very different from Professor Vinogradoff’s view, viz., a share of taxed land.¹ In the Burton Abbey Surveys it cannot be equivalent to a virgate in the sense of a fourth part of a hide as an unit of assessment, which is the sense in which the word “virgate” is most usually employed in these surveys; for Darlaston’s three virgates (of assessment) are stated to contain nine *waræ*, while Whiston’s one hide (= four virgates) of assessment is said to contain only six *waræ*. Probably what Mr. Round meant was that by the time of the Burton Abbey Surveys the word had come to be used rather as a description of an actual holding of two bovates and did not necessarily correspond with the Domesday assessment. Of Darlaston’s nine *waræ* six were inhabited (“*hospitatae*”) and three waste, whilst of Whiston’s six *waræ* the three in demesne had a capacity for two ploughs, and the other three were in the occupation of six *villani*, each holding half a *wara*.²

VIII. MANSURA.

Various explanations of the meaning of this word “*mansura*,” as used in Domesday, are collected in a note to Ellis’s *Introduction to Domesday*, i. 244; and Bracton, writing c. 1250, more than a century after the date of the Burton Abbey Surveys, says that a *mansio* (which seems to be generally equivalent to a *mansura*) might consist of a single house or might comprise several houses (*De Legibus et Consuetudinibus Angliæ*, lib. V, cap. 28. *De Except.* p. 434). See also the various

¹ Cf. *Growth of the Manor*, p. 284.

² Cf. General Wrottesley’s *History of the Bagot Family* (*Staff. Coll.*, N.S., Vol. XI, pp. 203–207), Rental A.D. 1402, where under Bromley (*i.e.* Bagot’s Bromley) and Atesale the names are given of five tenants, each holding a messuage and a half *wara*, and three others, each holding two messuages and two half *waræ*. In each case the half *wara* is described as consisting of land and meadow, for which the rent was always 8s., while the tenant is described as holding at the will of the lord, *i.e.* as a copyhold tenant representing the *villanus* of earlier days.

meanings given in Du Cange's *Glossarium* under the words "*mansura*" and "*mansus*" and in Spelman's *Glossarium* under "*mansa*," "*mansia*," "*mansus*," "*mansura*," "*massa*," "*mese*," and "*messuagium*." All these words are derived from the same root, the root of *maneo*, and they connote a place where people dwelt, an abode.

What then is the precise meaning of "*mansura*" as used in the Burton Abbey Surveys? It is something capable of being waste, for in Littleover (Survey A) "*una mansura vasta*" was held by Gothus. It seems generally to be equivalent to, or in some way to correspond with, a two-bovate holding, and from its derivation we should expect it to be especially connected with the dwelling-house; but it does not appear to be exactly identical with either the house or the land, though it is more usually applied to the latter. Thus, under Littleover (Survey A) we see that William de Oura held in Derby "*unam mansuram cum domo*," in Field (Survey B) "*tres mansuræ sunt vastæ et sunt domus desuper, id est .vi. bovatae inhospitatae*," and in Burton (Survey B) we find "*Ricardus filius Godit .i. mansuram, Gilebertus .i. domum pro .xvi. denariis*," whilst under Stretton (Survey B) "*vasta terra est* [not "et" as printed in the Cartulary, p. 25] *mansuræ .iiij. id est .vii. bovatae*," and under Stafford (Survey A) mention is made of a "*mansura terræ*." In the Stretton grant of a few years later in Abbot Bernard's time (Cartulary p. 37), to which I have already referred for another purpose, there is included a *bordarius* named Ailwin "*cum .iiij. acris terræ et mansura una*" [not "sua"], while in a memorandum of a much later date, entered on fo. 98 of the Cartulary (p. 89), we read of "*manerium sive mansuram suam de Caldewelle*." Can "*mansura*," as used in these twelfth century surveys, be the homestead, *i.e.* the farm buildings and premises (including perhaps the garden, orchard, and croft, etc.) immediately surrounding the *domus* of the tenant, whether he be a *censarius*, a *villanus* or a *bordarius*?¹ Or is it used in a more

¹ Cf. Sheppard's *Touchstone*, p. 94, as to the meaning of the word "message" at a later date. "By the grant of a message, or a message with the appurtenances, doth pass no more than the dwelling-house, barn, dove-house, and buildings adjoining, orchard, garden and curtilage; *i.e.* a

comprehensive sense as including both the homestead and the land held with it, just as the word "farm" is used in the present day?¹ Or again, is it not perhaps used sometimes in the one sense and sometimes in the other?

IX. ASSESSMENTS AND LAND MEASURES.

What light do these surveys throw upon the much vexed questions as to medieval mensuration of land? In the first place it is necessary to distinguish between the units of assessment for taxation ("se defendit pro"), which are nearly always to be found at or near the beginning of the description of each place, and which, if they ever had a direct relation to area, no longer corresponded with it at the time of the surveys, and the units of measurement of land as it then stood.

With regard to the former, *i.e.* the units of assessment, it is to be noticed that, while the assessments of land in Derbyshire (part of the area of the old Danish settlement) are all expressed in carucates and bovates, the assessments of land in Staffordshire and Warwickshire are all (with one possible exception in the case of Field in Survey B, as to which *cf. inf.* p. 289) given in hides and virgates; and in this respect exactly the same distinction is to be found in the Domesday Survey, which here they closely follow. The case of Appleby in Derbyshire is also rather exceptional. From Domesday we learn that the Abbey of Burton held *five* carucates of land *ad geldum* and land for five ploughs, but that one carucate of land had been given by Abbot Leuric to the Countess Goda and was then in the hands of the king (and therefore presumably for the time being exempted from taxation), and further that in the same vill were two ploughs in demesne and one plough in the hands of eight *villani* and one *bordarius*. In Survey A we read that there is no

little garden, yard, field, or piece of arid ground, lying near and belonging to the messuage, and houses adjoining to the dwelling-house, and the close upon which the dwelling-house is built, at the most, *viz.*, whatever is annexed to and enjoyed with the house, for its more convenient occupation."

¹ That in Anglo-Saxon times a "*mansus*" corresponded with a hide is shewn by comparing Æthelred's grant to Abbot Wulfgeat of a *mansus* and a half at Withmere (Wetmore) in 1012 with the Domesday assessment of the same place at 1½ hides.

inland, that the land is assessed at *four* carucates, and that there are altogether 49 virgates, of which 24 are in demesne and sufficient for three ploughs, and the rest, *i.e.* 25 virgates, are held by tenants. In Survey B we are told that there is no inland, *i.e.* non-taxable land, that the land in demesne is 34 virgates [can this be a mistake for 24?] with a capacity for three ploughs, which are in fact in use, and that the tenants' land is assessed at *twenty-four virgates*.¹ From a comparison of the assessments as given in the two surveys the natural inference is that a carucate as an unit of assessment was equivalent to one-fourth of twenty-four virgates, *i.e.* six virgates. But it would be unsafe to draw any inference of this kind from a single instance. Mr. Round has shewn (*Feudal England*, p. 108) that it is not only in its relation to a hide, but also in its relation to the Kentish *jugum* and even in its relation to an acre, that the term "virgate" was used as signifying a fourth part, and in his chapter on the Leicestershire Survey of 1124-1129 (pp. 196-214) he evidently understands a virgate (as there used) to be equivalent to one-fourth of a carucate. See also Professor Maitland's *Domesday Book and Beyond*, pp. 384-386. Moreover, it is clear from Survey A that a virgate was equivalent to two bovates, and there is no doubt whatever that 8 bovates made up one carucate.

As regards the latter, *viz.* the units of measurement of the land as it existed at the time of the surveys, in all counties alike the common unit of measurement is a bovate, *i.e.* one-eighth part of the land which an ox-team of eight oxen could plough in the course of a year, together probably with meadowland and pasture sufficient to maintain one ox for the common plough and usually also a house with a croft. See under Wetmore, where it is stated (Survey A) that Aluric the son of Bate held one bovate ad opus "*sine domo*" and (Survey B) that Ailward cados held one bovate "*sine crofta*"; and see also under

¹ It is curious that what I have transcribed from Survey B as an assessment at 24 virgates was transcribed by General Wrottesley (Cartulary, p. 30) as 23 virgates, and by Mr. J. G. Nichols (*History of Leicestershire*, iv. 427) as 20 virgates, which last would correspond with the 5 carucates of Domesday.

Stretton (Survey A) "prefatæ ·ii· bovatae quas tenet Eilmundus *carentcrofta et prato*." And eight of these bovates make up a carucate. (See under Okeover in Survey B and Bedington and Pillatonhall in Survey A, and other places *passim*.) But other terms are also sometimes used: *e.g.* a virgate, usually at any rate equivalent to two bovates, as at Cauldwell in Derbyshire (both surveys); at Austrey in Warwickshire, where the virgates were reckoned as "virgatae majores" because they were answerable in the hands of the tenants for the tax on the other virgates then in demesne as well as for their own, one of the virgates seems to have been made up of only twelve and a half acres (Survey A, postscript). Or again a *mansura*, comprising usually two bovates, as at Field in Staffordshire (Survey B): or a *wara*, of an uncertain quantity, as at Darlaston and Whiston in Staffordshire (both Surveys).

That the acreage of a bovatè was a variable quantity, depending probably on the nature of the soil or other local circumstances is clear: for at Stretton (Survey A) Soen held "·vii· acras id est ·i· bovata" for 12*d.*, at Wetmore (Survey A) Fromund held in Horninglow "·xij· acras de Inlanda id est ·i· bovata" for 12*d.*, at Branston Orm's holding of inland is described in Survey A as four bovates and in Survey B as 24 acres of land and 16 of meadow, which would make one bovatè equal to ten acres, and at Stretton super Dunsmore in Warwickshire (both surveys) the Abbey held "·iiiij· bovatas de Inlanda id est ·lxv· acras" [not "lxvi" as erroneously printed in the Cartulary, p. 24], which would be equivalent to nearly 16½ acres to the bovatè; while in a deed of Abbot Lawrence's time (1229-1260) relating to Winshill, transcribed on fo. 40 of the Cartulary (p. 55), a bovatè appears to be made up of 33 half-acres and 4 roods, *i.e.* 17½ acres. Mr. Round has shewn the normal Domesday virgate of assessment to be equal to 30 acres, which would correspond with 2 bovates of 15 acres each.

X. COMPARISON OF CONTENTS OF THE TWO SURVEYS.

In conclusion, I propose to attempt a comparative summary of the contents of the two surveys: and in so doing I have endeavoured to ascertain as far as possible to what extent the names of the tenants have altered between the dates of the two

surveys. It occurred to me that by these means further light might possibly be thrown upon the interval of time which elapsed between the two dates, and so we might be able to test by an independent process the conclusions at which we have already arrived about the date of the later survey. This line of inquiry is subject to limitations, because in many cases names that are given in one survey are omitted in the other, so that no comparison is possible, and besides it is not always easy to be sure what part of each survey was contained in the original survey and what part is a subsequent addition. It may well be that two persons pursuing the same inquiry might arrive at somewhat different results, but I do not think that the variances would be so great as to vitiate the general conclusions.

First, then, as to BURTON (*Burtona*). Under Survey B we read of inland for two ploughs and the actual existence of two plough teams of 16 oxen, as well as 4 oxen for drawing lime and 4 for drawing timber, 1 horse for harrowing (*ad herzandum*), besides mares from the breeding-stud (*de haraz*), of which there were 70 including foals in the time of Abbot Nigel, 3 Spanish asses, 19 cows, 1 bull, 8 heifers, 2 *otiosa* animals and 128 pigs. Survey A mentions inland for two ploughs in demesne without any of the other details. Both surveys state that the men's land or warland was in defence for $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides. Of this warland Survey B mentions 21 bovates held by customary services, which are fully stated, 8 *villani* each holding 2 bovates, and 2 *bovarii* (oxherds) and 3 other *villani* each holding 1 bovate, and 20 bovates held by 12 *censarii* or rent-paying tenants, 8 of whom each held 2 bovates and 4 others each 1 bovate: it also mentions 11 *cotseti* (cottage tenants) each holding 1 curtilage by customary service, and 20 other *censarii* holding houses or other smaller tenements, besides Lepsi, who held two mills for 4 years from the Feast of All Saints in the first year of Abbot Geoffrey at a rent of 50s. Survey A mentions 15 bovates held *ad opus* (by customary services) and 15 *ad malam* (by money payments). The names of the *villani*, except the two *bovarii*, are all given in Survey B, but in Survey A, with the exception of one, Ravechet, they are not given, so that here no comparison of names is possible. But of the *cotseti* 7 names remain the same, while 4 have dropped out; and of the *censarii* 7 larger and 7 smaller

tenants besides Lepsi remain the same, while 5 larger and 13 smaller ones have dropped out. Total, 22 changes out of 45. The later additions to the description of Burton in Survey A probably begin after the words "Summa horum est."

At BRANSTON (*Brantistona*), according to Survey B,¹ there was half a hide of inland, which was sufficient for three ploughs, there being then in fact only two plough-teams of 16 oxen, 1 mare, 24 cows, 1 bull, 14 heifers, and 7 *otiosa* animals. The men's land was in defence for a hide and a half; 8 *villani* held 2 bovates each by customary services, 2 *bovarii* held 2 bovates each and 1 held 1 bovaté, while Godric "Colebras" held 2 bovates at a rent. Of the 8 *centsarii* 7 held 2 bovates each, and 1, Orm, with his 7 undertenants held 8 bovates of warland and 40 acres of inland. Survey A mentions inland only sufficient for two ploughs in demesne, and of warland 11 bovates held *ad opus* by a *bovarius* and 5 *villani* and 15 held *ad malam*. Here apparently 1 *bovarius* (Osbern) and 7 *centsarii* (including Toli) or 8 (including also Godric Colebras) remain the same, 3 *villani* have dropped out, and 1 or possibly 2 *centsarii* have changed: some of these are uncertain, and the others cannot be compared. Total changes (say) 4 out of 12. The total of the money rents is stated to be 23s. 5d., though an actual summing-up of the several items as printed in the Cartulary gives only 19s. 7d. This discrepancy is caused by the omission altogether of Ulsi's holding of 2 bovates of warland and 1 acre of inland for 3s. and a misstatement as to the rent of Aluered's holding, which should be 32d. Both Surveys mention 3 charcoal furnaces (*udicokeres*, *wodicokeres*). The last paragraph of Survey A, beginning with the words "Terram hujus manerii" is clearly a later addition, and the reference to the surrender of Ticknall makes it probable that the preceding sentence beginning with the words "Item partem luci pertinentis ad Brantistonam" is also a later addition, as I think was suggested by Mr. Round.

At STRETTON by Burton (*Stratona*), according to Survey B there was sufficient inland for three ploughs, but actually two

¹ At the end of the first paragraph of the description of Branston, and again at the end of the seventh line of the description of Stretton, as printed in the Cartulary, p. 25, there are passages omitted and replaced by the formula "etc."

plough-teams of 16 oxen, also a mare and foal: in Survey A the inland is given as only sufficient for two very strong ploughs. The men's land was in defence for $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides: 18 *villani* (including the reeve, 4 *bovarii* and a smith), each holding 2 bovates, are named in Survey B; in Survey A the names of the reeve and the smith are given, being the same as before, together with one new *villanus* not previously named, and mention is also made of 4 *bovarii* and 9 other *villani*, whose names are not given, making altogether 16 instead of 18. One villan or *ad opus* holding (that of Raven or Raura) has been converted into a rent-paying or *ad malam* holding (now held by Ordric son of Algar). Among the names of the 9 *cenarii* originally given in Survey B some alterations are noted on the face of the Survey, and the substituted names are reproduced (as already pointed out above) in Survey A, where other new names also appear, only 4 remaining the same as in the original part of Survey B. Total changes of name (say) 6 out of 13. I would suggest that the additions to Survey B probably begin with the words "Quatuor bovarii" and those to Survey A with the words "Preter hæc tenet Willelmus," in both of which places there is the mark of a fresh paragraph. A few clerical errors in the Cartulary should be noticed. Thus, on p. 19, l. 16, the words should be "inter Warlandam et Inlandam," on l. 17 the word "terræ" should be omitted, and on l. 24 "pirorum" should be substituted for "picorum," while Andrew's holding should begin "Andreas iiij. (not 'viiij') bovatas"; on l. 29 "pro" should be substituted for "preter," on l. 31 "Toui" for "Tomas," on l. 42 "opere" for "operatione," on l. 44 "que fuit Gamel" for "quæ Gamel tenuit"; and, if I am not mistaken, on l. 45 "Ernwi" should be read instead of "Grawi." On p. 25, l. 33, "Gamal" should be substituted for "Cuinal"; on l. 34 the word should of course be "curiam" (not "Curiain"), and on l. 25 the holding of Hugo le Sele should be "iiij (not 'liij') bovatas"; on l. 42 it should be "salmone" (not "salmonem") and "terra est" (not "terra et"); on the last line but one "xxxij" (not "xxij"), and on the last line "surdus" (not "Turdus").

At WETMORE (*Withmere, Wismera*) and HORNINGLOW, according to Survey B there was inland for three ploughs, but in use only two plough-teams of 16 oxen, 22 cows, 1 bull,

13 heifers, and 10 *otiosa* animals: in Survey A again the inland is stated to be only sufficient for two very strong ploughs. The men's land was in defence for $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides. In Survey B 9 *villani* (including 1 *bovarius*) are named, each holding two bovates, or 18 bovates altogether, besides 3 others whose names are also given and who held between them 4 bovates of the land of the *cotseti*. Then 16 *ensarii* are named, the first four holding between them 4 bovates of the land of the *cotseti*, and the rest holding 24 bovates of warland and 2 of inland, besides William de Rolveston's holding of half a hide. If we omit the two bovates of inland and the thirteen bovates of cottagers' land as being also part of the inland, the total number of bovates of warland in Wetmore and Horninglow will be 42 besides William de Rolveston's half-hide. In Survey A the land of the *cotseti* is not mentioned, and the total number of bovates of warland is now given as 40, *viz.* 13 held *ad opus* and 27 *ad malam*. The 13 bovates *ad opus* are held by 1 *bovarius* and 6 other *villani*, of whom only 3 are named, two being the same as before, and one new one (Bate) holding only 1 bovat. Of those holding *ad malam* the half-hide previously held by William de Rolveston is now held by his son Ralph, who holds it "sicut inlandam," and there follow the names of 15 other persons holding *ad malam* (in addition to 5 others mentioned in a separate paragraph, probably not forming part of the original survey), of whom only 5 are the same as in Survey B. There are several smaller holdings such as a house and croft, etc. It is not quite clear how the 27 bovates *ad malam* are made up. Without counting Ralph de Rolveston's half-hide only 21 are mentioned in this paragraph, and if this half-hide be taken as equivalent to 4 bovates, we still require the 2 bovates given up by Hugo Magnus (as stated in the separate paragraph) to make up the total: otherwise Ralph de Rolveston's half-hide would have to be taken as equal to 6 bovates. Nor is it possible to speak with any confidence as to the total number of changes of tenants' names here since the earlier survey, but they are certainly more numerous than usual and perhaps amount to something like 15 out of 23 in the cases where a comparison is possible. This is one of the descriptions in Survey A which has not been set out verbatim in the printed edition of the Cartulary (p. 20).

At ABBOTS BROMLEY (*Bromlega*) we are told of inland sufficient for two ploughs, and Survey B adds that there was in fact only one plough-team of 8 oxen, also 1 horse. The men's land was in defence for half a hide. In Survey B we find R. de Ferrers holding 4 bovates, 5 *villani* holding between them 10 bovates, and 8 *cenarii* holding between them 20 bovates of warland and inland besides 36 acres of inland. In Survey A it is stated that there were 32 bovates of inland and warland (besides demesne), and these were all then held by rent-paying tenants. All the names are given in both surveys, and of those mentioned in Survey B all but 3 out of 12 appear again in Survey A, which contains only four new names. Both surveys contain statements with regard to the farming of the manor by the men of Bromley, that in Survey B being obviously (as I have already shewn) a subsequent addition, and the names of the "farmers" are added in Survey A. But there is a discrepancy between the two statements, which has been noticed by Mr. Round. In Survey B the farm rent is put at lxx s., in Survey A at c s., this latter sum being subsequently, after Edric had given up the forestership, increased by a further x s., and by boon-works of a similar value, which should bring the total value of the farm rent up to cxx s. Can there have been here a clerical mistake made by the monks who drew up or copied the surveys between the numerals l (50) and c (100), the original farm rent being either l s., subsequently increased to lxx s., or c s., subsequently increased to cxx s.? This is another of the cases in which the description in Survey A is not given verbatim in the printed edition of the Cartulary. Ernald's holding for 40 *d.* is entered in the margin, and his rent is not included in the total of 64 s., so that it is obviously a later addition. There are two or three mistakes in the printed edition. The total number of bovates "inter Inlandam et Warlandam" is xxxij not xxx: the two bovates held by Aisculf the priest were warland not inland: and for "*pro bonitates equivalentes alios*" should be read "*per bonitates equivalentes aliis*."

The description of Bromley in Survey A is followed by that of HAMPTON (*Hantona*), which is not mentioned in Survey B except in the form of a brief reference to it in the added passage relating to the Newton tithes. It was given to the Abbey by Meriet, and was doubtless acquired between the dates of the two

surveys. I have already dealt with these passages in a previous part of the present paper, where I have also corrected some mistakes that occur in the printed edition of the Cartulary.

The Abbey possessions in STAFFORD (*Staffordia*), mentioned in Survey A immediately after Hampton, and also those in WATERFALL (*Waterfala*), which come after Okeover and Ilam, are mentioned only in Survey A, and presumably they were acquired subsequently to the date of Survey B. Waterfall was the gift of Aschetil le Despencer, but there is no deed of gift among the transcripts in the Cartulary. The word which General Wrottesley transcribed as "matronum" I read as "oracionum."

In OKEOVER (*Acoura*) there was only sufficient inland for one plough, in ILAM (*Ylum*) there was none. The men's land was in defence for three virgates. In Okeover there was warland sufficient for two ploughs, which in Survey B is described as consisting of two carucates, one held by Lewin for his service with two men under him, the other divided between Swegn (2 bovates), Lewin (2 bovates), and Ælstan and Kenward (2 bovates), all of these being rent-payers, the remaining 2 bovates being held in demesne. There was also a mill there. In Ilam there were 16 bovates of warland, most of which was held at money rents by Tedwi, Lewin Gup, another Lewin, Ulward the smith, Huning, Griffin and Bertrich; also a mill. The church and land belonging to it were the property of the Abbot. The description in Survey A is very short, and gives no names of any tenants for comparison. Both surveys mention the lease of Okeover and Ilam to Orm for 20 *oræ* (i.e., 26s. 8d.), which seems to have been made in the time of Abbot Nigel and to have been a lease for two lives (see the deed set out in the Cartulary, p. 30).

At LEIGH (*Lega*) Survey B states that there was inland enough for two ploughs with due help from the men, and says that there were there two¹ plough-teams of 16 oxen, a horse and mare, 33 cows, 2 bulls, 2 heifers, 17 *otiosa* animals, 80 goats, and 28 pigs. The men's land was in defence for four-fifths of a

¹ The numerals "ij" are omitted by mistake in the printed edition of the Cartulary (p. 27).

hide, the other fifth being held by Mainus brito. Twelve *villani* are named, each holding 2 bovates (altogether 24 bovates) and working two days a week, also 9 *censarii*,¹ holding amongst them 42 bovates, besides Edric, the tenant of the mills, and 1 carucate belonging to the church (making altogether 74 bovates); and the manor is stated to be let, on a 16 years' lease to Orm for 100s. The account in Survey A is substantially the same. The inland is here put at sufficient only for two very strong ploughs in demesne: the men's land between Leigh and Field (*i.e.* including them both) in defence for 3 virgates (*i.e.* $\frac{3}{4}$ instead of $\frac{4}{5}$ of a hide), which corresponds with the Domesday assessment. The warland in Leigh contained 24 bovates held *ad opus*, 42 *ad malam*, and 8 quit belonging to the church, *i.e.* 74 bovates altogether. The names of those holding *ad opus* are not given, but those holding *ad malam* are precisely the same as the *censarii* in Survey B. A new tenant of a piece of inland is mentioned in a footnote, but this was probably a later addition. The existing "farm" of the manor for 16 years (or a new lease for a similar term and at the same rent) is now vested in Godric and Wulfric instead of Orm,² and certain reservations in favour of the Abbot

¹ One of these, Osbern, holding 4 bovates for 4s., is omitted by mistake in the printed edition.

² Mr. Round (N.S., Vol. IX, pp. 282-3) appears to have found a difficulty in reconciling the various statements in the *Burton Cartulary* as to the "farm" of Leigh, and especially as to Andrew's tenancy there. But I think he must have overlooked the fact that Andrew's holding was not the *manor* of Leigh, but only that part of Leigh which had previously been held by Ebrard the clerk and after him by Aisculf the priest. The manor of Leigh was, at the date of Survey B, in farm to Orm on a 16 years' lease at a rent of 100s. a year, and at the date of Survey A to Godric and Wulfric (possibly Orm's sons) for a similar (probably the same) term at the same rent; it was subsequently given in fee farm by Abbot Geoffrey to Robert, son of Uviet (*Cartulary*, p. 35) apparently for his life, the rent now being (not raised from 60s. but) reduced from 100s. to £4, while a part of the services were also released—possibly because a part of Leigh had in the meantime been granted in fee farm to Andrew. The service of Edda at Dodsleigh was included in the lease to Godric and Wulfric, as well as in the fee farm grant to Robert, son of Uviet. Mr. Round seems to have been unable to connect the previous holders of the part granted to Andrew with the names given in either of the surveys, but is not this holding identical with the carucate, which at the date of both surveys belonged to (*jacet ad*) the Church, and which at the date of Survey A was held by Gosfrid for the

are now mentioned, also a tenancy of one of Osbern de Checkley's men. Altogether only one change of name out of 11 cases in which comparison is possible.

At FIELD (*Felda*) it is stated in Survey B that there was land in demesne for one plough, and that the men's land comprised 20 bovates, of which 14 were then held by 7 *cenarii*, each holding 2 bovates, while three *mansuræ* or 6 bovates were waste and uninhabited. Survey A shews that both the 8 bovates then in demesne and the 20 bovates of men's land were all warland, and it would seem that the waste bovates had by this time been brought back into cultivation. There is one difficulty here that I cannot explain satisfactorily. Survey B begins with the statement that Field was in defence for one *carucate* and belonged to the Leigh hide. This is, so far as I am aware, the only place in these Surveys in which the word "carucate" as a word of assessment is applied to any of the Staffordshire lands, Staffordshire being no part of the Danish settlement. This alone would raise a suspicion as to its accuracy, but besides this it is stated in Survey A under Leigh that the men's land between Leigh and Field (*i.e.* both inclusive) was in defence for 3 virgates only, and the Leigh warland comprised 74 bovates, while the Field warland comprised only 28, including the 8 bovates then held in demesne. If "carucate" be the correct word (and it stands so in the Cartulary), I can only suggest that it must correspond with the two half-hides mentioned in Domesday¹ under the tenancy *in capite* of Henry de Ferrers, and that the reference here must be to the whole of Field, whereas the rest of this Survey and Survey A deal only with that part which belonged to the Abbey. No names are given in Survey A except that of Andrew "the farmer," and the name of the "farmer" is not given in Survey B, so that a comparison is impossible.

DODSLEIGH (*Dadesleia*) is mentioned only in Survey A, and as belonging to Leigh. The blank in the number of bovates

service of his little brother when he should be old enough to serve the Church? The word "concessit" suggests that it was not an enfeoffment of Andrew as the actual tenant, but rather a grant to him (for two lives) of the seignory of this church land then in the occupation of the priest or rather temporarily in that of Gosfrid. Andrew was the son-in-law of Orm of Okeover (*Staff. Coll.*, N.S., Vol. VII, p. 7).

¹ [See, however, the addition to my note, *ante* p. 250.]

included in Edda's holding can be supplied from the deed in the Cartulary (p. 34), which gives the number 20 and sets out the boundaries beginning from the river Blyth.

In DARLASTON (*Derlavestona*), according to both Surveys, there was inland sufficient for two ploughs, and the men's land was in defence for 3 virgates, in which were 9 *wara*, 6 inhabited and 3 waste. Survey B states that the six inhabited *wara* were occupied by 11 *centsarii* and one other R. (probably Racchenistus) for his service: 3 *cotseti* working one day a week and one blacksmith are mentioned, also a mill; and Darlaston is stated to be in defence for half a hide and one virgate, which Survey A equates with three virgates,—the whole held by Orm, whose rent is given in Survey B as xls., but in Survey A and in the deed itself (Cartulary, p. 35) as lxs. The meaning of the term *wara* has already been discussed. No names except Orm are available for comparison.

In WHISTON by Penkridge (*Witestona*) both Surveys give 8 bovates of inland, and the warland in defence for one hide: 6 *wara*, 3 in demesne where there was land for two ploughs, the other 3 occupied by 6 men *ad opus*, each holding half a *wara*, working two days a week and paying 3*d.* a year. Survey B mentions also a jester and a tailor, 95 (?) mares, 10 cows, a plough-team¹ and a half (*i.e.* 12 oxen) and 50 sheep. Whiston was in defence for one hide, and was held in farm for 10*s.* by Nablus (Survey B), doubtless the same person as Navenus (Survey A), for Navven was the abbot's tenant at Whiston in the Domesday Survey.

BEDINGTON (*Bedintona*) and PILLATONHALL (*Pilatehale*) were in defence for half a hide. At the time of Survey B Pillatonhall was waste, and the tenant Edwin paid a reduced rent for it in consequence, *viz.* 4*s.* instead of 5 *ora* (6*s.* 8*d.*): for Bedington he paid 6 *ora* (8*s.*). Survey A gives rather fuller particulars, *viz.* 8 bovates of inland at Bedington and 8 bovates of warland at Pillatonhall, altogether 16 bovates, for which Edwin now pays 20*s.*, so that all the land had presumably been brought back into cultivation. No names except Edwin's are

¹ The word is "carr", which might stand for "carrucam" or for "carrucatum," but the context suggests animals rather than land.

mentioned in either Survey. The name Bedington does not now survive, but the two places evidently adjoined one another. Pope Lucius's Confirmation to Burton Abbey in 1185 mentions only Pillatonhall and not Bedington, so in all probability both places were included under the name Pillatonhall even as far back as the end of the twelfth century.

This completes the Staffordshire part of the Surveys, for Stapenhill and Winshill, now in that county, then lay in Derbyshire, the river Trent having until quite recently formed the county boundary here.

In Derbyshire, at MICKLEOVER (*Oufra Major, Oufra Magna*), Survey B mentions inland sufficient for three and four ploughs in alternate years, four plough-teams of 32 oxen then in use, and one mare: the men's land in defence for four carucates. In Survey A the inland is described as sufficient for three strong ploughs in demesne. In Survey B 18 *villani* are named, each holding 2 bovates of land and their customary services being fully described, a smith also holding 2 bovates *ad opus*, and 2 *bovarii* each holding 1 bovate: among the *censarii*, holding altogether 37 bovates, 11 tenants are named (3 of whom were reeves and 1 a *presbyter*) and 4 more *bovarii* are also mentioned, the latter holding a bovate each *pro officio suo*, bringing the total number of bovates up to 77. In Survey A the warland is put at 52 bovates *ad opus* and 24 *ad malam*, 4 being quit as belonging to the church, total 76 bovates. Those holding *ad opus* are Aluric the reeve, Alfac the smith, and also 5 *bovarii* and 19 *villani* whose names are not given, each of them holding 2 bovates: the tenants *ad malam* are a *presbyter* and 8 others all named, holding amongst them 24 bovates. Then follow 8 more *censarii*, beginning with Hugh le Sele, whose names must have been added later, holding altogether 17 bovates. Excluding this later addition, 10 names are the same as in Survey B, while 5 changes of name have occurred.

At LITTLEOVER (*Oufra minor, Parva Oufra*) Survey B states that there is inland sufficient for four ploughs, and four full plough-teams of 32 oxen actually in existence, also 1 mare: the men's land in defence for 3 carucates. Survey A gives the inland as sufficient for three very strong ploughs in demesne. In Survey B 19 *villani* are named, each holding 2 bovates, and

their customary services being the same as at Mickleover, 4 *bovarii* each holding 5 acres of inland (as well apparently as 1 bovate), a smith holding 1 bovate for work on three ploughs, a *cotsetus* holding 1 bovate, and (including the tenants in Derby) 12 *censarii* holding amongst them 18 bovates (besides 2 of inland), 4 *mansuræ*, 2 of which are waste, a mill, a small island, a church and 2 wicks. In Survey A the warland is put at 37 bovates *ad opus* and 19 *ad malam*, total 56. Of those holding *ad opus* 4 *bovarii* and 14 *villani* (names not given) held 2 bovates each, and 2 *cotseti* are mentioned by name. Then among those holding *ad malam* (again including Derby) 14 persons are named, holding amongst them 18 bovates (besides 2 of inland), 5 *mansuræ*, 2 of which are waste, a mill, a small island, a church, and 2 wicks in Waldewick Street. Of the names of which a comparison can be made 9 seem to be the same in the two Surveys and 5 have changed. Here the later additions appear to begin with the words "Item Otho de Derbeia."

At FINDERN (*Finderna*) Survey B puts the inland as enough for three ploughs, though there were only two there in use; there was one horse, and the men's land in defence for 2 carucates. Survey A puts the inland as enough for two very strong ploughs in demesne. Survey B names 12 *censarii*, holding amongst them 24 bovates, besides mentioning (without giving the names of) 4 *bovarii*, each of whom apparently held 5 acres of inland and 1 bovate, and 3 *cotseti*. Survey A states that there were 32 bovates of warland, one held *ad opus* by Brandwin the *bovarius* and all the rest *ad malam* by tenants whose names are given: 3 *cotseti* are mentioned, or more probably 5, *i.e.* if we include a *daia* (dairy maid) and another householder, Tedeva, who is not expressly called a *cotsetus*. Here 8 names are the same as in Survey B and 3 have changed. Part, if not the whole, of the concluding paragraph beginning "Item pars grange" is evidently a later addition.

POTLOCK (*Pothlac, Potlac*) was at the date of Survey B held by Nigel de Repton (*Rependona*) for 4s., and no details are given. In Survey A it is stated that there was no inland, and that the land was in defence for one carucate; also that there were 16 bovates altogether, of which 7 were in demesne and 9 held by tenants, whose names are given and who all held

for money payments. The "farmer" of the manor is now Geoffrey [de Potlock] instead of Nigel de Repton, but except in his case no comparison of names is possible.

At WILLINGTON (*Wilentona*) both Surveys state that there was no inland, and that the land was in defence for 3 carucates. Survey B names 13 tenants besides the smith, holding amongst them 22 bovates, and all being rent-paying tenants except the smith, who held for his office, and Umfrid, who held rent free. One *cotsetus* is mentioned, and a mill of the value of 20s., while the "farmer" of the manor is Alured de Cumbrai for a rent of 30s. and tithes. In Survey A it is stated that there were 32 bovates, 7 in demesne and sufficient for 2 ploughs, and the other 25 held by Godric the *presbyter* and 14 rent-paying tenants whose names are given. The manor is now held in farm with the mill by Umfrid for a term of 16 years for a rent of 100s. and tithes. Of the names mentioned in Survey B 8 occur again in Survey A, while 6 have been replaced by others. In his Introduction to the Cartulary (p. 3), General Wrottesley, while successfully defending the monks against Eyton's charge of having procured the suppression in Domesday of the whole of their home estate at Burton, makes a new charge against them of having obtained the suppression there of the two important manors of Anslow and Willington. To me it seems that this new charge is equally baseless. Anslow, it is true, does not occur in Domesday, but it does not occur in the Burton Abbey Surveys either; and it is fairly clear that either it was not acquired by the monks until after the date of these Surveys, or else it was included both in them and in Domesday under the name of some adjoining vill. The first mention of it in the deeds is in Abbot Roger's time, 1178-1182 (Cartulary, p. 41). As regards Willington the disproof of the charge is still more conclusive. Though not entered in Domesday under the possessions of the Abbey, it is not omitted altogether, but appears under the lands of Ralph FitzHubert, where it is stated that in Willetune (Willington) *Leuric* had 3 carucates assessed to the geld. Now this *Leuric* was almost certainly none other than the *Leuric* who was Abbot of Burton (and several other abbeys) at the time of the Conquest and died in 1085, and who (as Florence of Worcester tells us) was a nephew of *Leuric* or *Leofric* the

great Mercian earl. The inference is obvious that Willington was held by Leuric as Abbot of Burton at the time when the returns were made for Domesday ; and it is in fact stated in the *Chronica Abbatum* (*Mon. Ang.* iii. 47) that Willington was given to the Abbey by Briteric, the second abbot, and the immediate predecessor of Leuric. General Wrottesley's argument was founded on the statement which he found in Pope Lucius's Confirmation in 1185 (from which his list is taken) to the effect that all the lands had been given them by Wulfric Spot or the Conqueror. But, even if this is the proper inference to be drawn from Pope Lucius's Confirmation (which is not at all clear), such a statement could not be relied on, for it is expressly stated in Domesday itself that Austrey in Warwickshire was given to the abbey by earl Leuric, and we know from the Cartulary (pp. 30, 32) that Wolston, which the monks had held during the time of Abbot Nigel, but lost on his death, came back to them through Roger de Freville and his wife Sibil, who by the way (as shewn by Mr. Round in his *Peerage and Family History*, p. 130) was the daughter, not of Alan FitzFlaald, the ancestor of the houses of FitzAlan and Stewart, but of his tenant Hubert fitzBaldran and Adeliza his wife. And yet both of these places were also included in Pope Lucius's Confirmation, and apparently as though they had formed part of Wulfric Spot's foundation grant.

At STAPENHILL (*Stapehull, Stapenhull*) Survey B gives inland for three ploughs, and three plough-teams of 24 oxen, one mare, and the men's land in defence for two carucates. Survey A mentions inland sufficient only for two very strong ploughs in demesne, and agrees with Survey B as to the assessment. There is here an apparent discrepancy between the Burton Abbey Surveys and Domesday, where the assessment given is 4 carucates and 2 bovates. But it is only an apparent one, the explanation being that Domesday includes under Stapenhill the 10 bovates at Brislinecote and the one carucate at Stanton. Survey B names 7 *villani* holding 2 bovates each, and working two days a week, and 5 holding 1 bovate each and working only one day a week, besides the smith who holds 2 bovates ; 4 *bovarii*, each holding 1 bovate of the *terra cotsetorum*, and 4 *cotseti* are also mentioned, the name of only one being given ; and 10 *censarii* are named, holding amongst them 18 bovates of warland and

inland (besides the "exclusage" of two mills¹), the total of which (including the *terra cotsetorum*) would come to 43 bovates. In Survey A it is stated that there were 14 bovates *ad opus* and (with inland as well as warland) 19 *ad malam*, total 33 bovates; but besides these we read of a holding of 22 acres of inland equal to the holding of 2 *bovarii*, another of 9 acres, and another of 6 acres, and apparently 2 other bovates, which may perhaps account for 6 more bovates. The names are given of all the tenants holding *ad malam*, but of only some of those holding *ad opus*; apparently 8 remain the same as before, while about 8 have changed. The "exclusage" of one mill is held as before, but the other mill is now held by Tuold the carpenter for 20s., or for all the work in wood or lead required for the church in lieu of his money payment. In Survey B the services both of the *villani* and of the *censarii* are described very fully, and the printed edition of the Cartulary loses much by the description being curtailed. The services of a *villanus*, besides the usual week-work, were the fetching of salt and fish or payment of 2*d.* for each journey, the providing of a horse or payment of 3*d.* for the abbot's journey to the Court, the fallowing of one acre on account of foldage, ploughing half an acre in Lent, render of pannage, and of two hens at Christmas, carriage of a waggon load of timber to the Court, going on errands when required, making a *sextarius* of malt, and ploughing twice a year for the lord in addition to the other ploughing. The services of the *censarii* were not all the same, but most of them, in addition to their money rent at the rate 1*s.* 6*d.* for each bovat, had to do fence work for 4 perches at the Court and 4 at the grove, to lend their ploughs twice a year, to reap three times in August, and to find a man for the hunt whenever required.

BRISLINCOTE (*Bersicote*) is stated in Survey B to be in defence for 10 bovates, in Survey A for 11, the former statement being in accord with Domesday, as I have already shewn under Stapenhill. At the date of Survey B it was held by Mabon (a Celtic name), at that of Survey A by his son John. The identity of Bersicote with Brislincote is made clear by the reference in

¹ "*Exclusagium*" is the privilege of making a sluice to carry water for a mill, and sometimes means the payment in respect of such a privilege.

Survey B and in the deed (Cartulary, p. 39) to Stapenhill and Winshill, both of which adjoin Brislincote.

STANTON (*Stantona*) is described in Survey B as in defence for, and in Survey A as consisting of, one carucate held by Geoffrey de Clinton for 10s. and tithes. This seems to be the place which in Domesday appears as Stantun under the land of Henry de Ferrers, where however it was assessed at only half a carucate.

TICKNALL (*Tichenhala*) is described in Survey B as in defence for 6 bovates, in Survey A it is given as $5\frac{1}{3}$ bovates (*i.e.*, $\frac{2}{3}$ of a carucate). The latter agrees with Domesday, as to which the writer of the article in the Derbyshire Victoria County History points out that the king's holding of 2 carucates and $2\frac{2}{3}$ bovates with Nigel de Statford's holding of 1 carucate and the abbot's holding of $5\frac{1}{3}$ bovates together amount to 4 carucates. At the time of both Burton Abbey Surveys it was held by Robert de Ferrers for 10s., and Survey B also gives the name of his under tenant, Soen (Swegn?).

At WINSHILL (*Wineshulla*) Survey B says there was inland sufficient for two ploughs, and of the taxable land (*i.e.*, warland) 5 bovates also in demesne, while there were two plough-teams of 16 oxen, and one mare, and the men's land in defence for two carucates with the 5 bovates of demesne land. Eleven *villani* are named, the reeve holding 2 bovates *ad opus* besides 1 bovat *ad censum*, and 5 others each holding 2 bovates and 5 each holding 1 bovat *ad opus*; 3 *cotseti*; 1 tenant (Fromund) holding 2 bovates for 3s., though he is not mentioned among the *censarii*; 3 *sochemanni* holding amongst them 6 bovates, and 6 other tenants holding parts of the *terra sochemannorum*, amounting altogether to $18\frac{1}{2}$ bovates (besides $3\frac{1}{2}$ of demesne land); and lastly 13 *censarii*, the last of whom (Bristwi) not only held the mill, but also apparently farmed the manor. The total number of bovates mentioned appears to be $60\frac{1}{2}$ besides $3\frac{1}{2}$ of demesne land. Survey A says that there were in the warland 14 bovates *ad opus*, 38 *ad malam*, and 2 *absque mala* which had been held by Mabon, or altogether only 54 bovates. Of those who held *ad opus*, 8 were held by 4 full *villani*, each holding 2 bovates, and 6 by 6 half *villani*, each holding 1 bovat, but with the exception of Edric the reeve their names are not given. Of those who held *ad malam* or *absque mala* about 11 were

retained by the abbot as was the mill of the bridge, the rest of the manor, including a small mill, being let to farm to Edric the monk. The names are given of all the rent-paying tenants, and they include all the persons described in Survey B as *sochemanni* or as holding *terra sochemannorum* and 4 of those described there as *censarii*. Altogether 15 names are the same as before, while some 8 or so have changed. In Survey B the services of the *villani* are said to be substantially the same here as at Stapenhill, those of the *sochemanni* are fully described, as are also those of the *censarii*, the latter not being all identical. This is the only manor on which we hear of *sochemanni*, and in Domesday we are told that King William had attached to it (the soke of) 6 *sochemanni* belonging to Rapedune (Repton).

At CAULDWELL (*Caldewell, Caldewalla*) both Surveys put the inland as sufficient for two ploughs, which they both also state to be equivalent to 8 virgates, and the men's land or warland as 16 virgates; and in Survey A these 24 virgates are equated with 48 bovates. In Survey B the names are given of 10 *villani* holding amongst them $8\frac{1}{2}$ virgates, and of 4 *censarii* holding amongst them 5 virgates, while $2\frac{1}{2}$ virgates lay waste. At the time of Survey A the whole was held by William Fitz Nigel [*qu. de Gresley*] for 20s., but in this Survey no other names are given, so that no comparison is possible. In the *Chronica Abbatum Burton*. (Mon. Ang. iii. 47) it is stated that Cauldwell was given to the Abbey by William Rufus, but in Domesday itself it is expressly mentioned that it was given them by King William, which there must (I suppose) mean the Conqueror.

At APPELBY (*Appelby, Appelbi*) both Surveys state that there was no inland, which Survey B explains as meaning taxable land. Survey B gives the land in demesne as 34 virgates and sufficient for three ploughs, of which there were then three of 24 oxen, also a mare and foal and about 300 sheep, and the men's land as in defence for 24 virgates. It then gives the names of 14 *puri villani*, holding together 12 virgates *ad opus*, and their services corresponding substantially with those of the *villani* at Austrey, 7 *puri censarii*, holding together 14 virgates for money payments, and 2 half *villani* half *censarii*, holding together $2\frac{1}{2}$ virgates + 2 bovates (= $3\frac{1}{2}$ virgates) *ad opus* and $1\frac{1}{2}$ virgates + 1 bovate (= 2 virgates) *ad censum*, which would make up

altogether $31\frac{1}{2}$ virgates or 63 bovates: it also gives the names of 3 *cotseti* and mentions without name 2 *bovarii* with small holdings. The *puri censarii* all owed suit of court or service of their bodies. Survey A says that the land was in defence for 4 carucates and contained 49 virgates, of which 24 were in demesne and sufficient for two ploughs and 25 held by tenants, 12 being held *ad opus* and 13 *ad malam*. Of the virgates held *ad opus* 11 were held by 11 *villani plenarii*, each holding 2 bovates, and one by 2 *villani dimidii*, each holding 1 bovat. It then gives the names of 7 tenants holding amongst them 13 virgates *ad malam*, of whom 3 are the same as in Survey B and 1 doubtful, the rest taking the place of 5 others named in Survey B.

In Warwickshire at AUSTREY (*Alduluestreo*) Survey B states that there were 4 virgates of inland (which, as I have already explained, in this instance means not land free from tax but demesne land), *i.e.* land for two ploughs, and two plough-teams actually in use of 16 oxen, also a mare and foal, and the men's land in defence for 6 virgates: 4 *villani* each held 1 virgate and worked two days a week, and 4 each held half a virgate and worked one day a week, the occasional services being very similar to, but not identical with, those exacted at Stapenhill. There is added a note that in this vill the virgates are reckoned to the *villani* as they are reckoned in the king's tax, and so they are greater virgates. The names of the *villani* are given as well as those of 2 *cotseti*. In Survey A it is stated that there was no inland (here used in the ordinary sense) and that the land was in defence for $2\frac{1}{2}$ hides and contained 10 virgates, 4 of which were in demesne and the other 6 held *ad opus* by 4 *plenarii* and 4 *dimidii villani*, and the explanation is repeated about these 6 virgates being greater virgates. No names being given in this part of the Survey, a computation of changes of tenants is impossible. At the end of the Survey (after Stretton) there is another paragraph evidently added later, giving the names of Austrey tenants, some holding *ad opus* and some *ad malam*, of two out of the four virgates previously held in demesne.

At STRETTON super Dunsmore (*Stratona*) both Surveys state there were 4 bovates of inland, *i.e.* 65 acres, of which Geoffrey the Treasurer (Geoffrey de Clinton) held 40 acres and Hadewi a *villanus* 25 acres, the only difference being that in

Survey B Hadewi's rent is put at 3 *ora* (=4*s.*), while in Survey A it is put at 3*s.* In Survey B reference is made to the possession by the previous abbot (Nigel) of a carucate of inland, a *villanus* and 2 *bordarii* in Wolston (*Wlfrichestona*), of which Geoffrey de Clinton had resumed possession on the death of that abbot.

We are now in a position to give a table shewing the ratio of names that remain the same in the two Surveys to those which have dropped out of the later Survey, so far as any such comparison is possible. According to my reckoning this would be as follows:—

Manor.	Same.	Changes.	Total.
<i>Staffordshire—</i>			
Burton	23	22	45
Branston	8	4	12
Stretton	7	6	13
Wetmore and Horninglow	8	15	23
Abbots Bromley	9	3	12
Hampton	—	—	—
Okeover and Ilam	1	0	1
Waterfall	—	—	—
Leigh	10	1	11
Field	—	—	—
Darlaston	1	0	1
Whiston	1	0	1
Bedington and Pillatonhall	1	0	1
<i>Derbyshire—</i>			
Mickleover	10	5	15
Littleover	9	5	14
Findern	8	3	11
Potlock... ..	0	1	1
Willington	8	6	14
Stapenhill	8	8	16
Brislincote	0	1	1
Stanton... ..	1	0	1
Ticknall	1	0	1
Winshill	15	8	23
Cauldwell	—	—	—
Appleby	3	5	8
<i>Warwickshire—</i>			
Austrey... ..	—	—	—
Stretton super Dunsmore	2	0	2
	134	93	227

If this computation is correct, we have a ratio of 134 names remaining as before to 93 names changed when the later Survey was taken, or in other words 93 changes out of a total of 227 of

which comparison is possible. Taking 30 years as representing a generation (which I believe to be usually considered a fair average, and therefore the period during which all the tenants might be expected to change), and assuming that the comparison extends over a field sufficiently wide for the purposes of generalisation, we arrive at the result that Survey A was probably made some 12 years after Survey B. If then I am right in thinking that Survey B was made in 1114 or early in 1115, the date of Survey A would be about 1126: and this agrees with and corroborates the conclusion at which Mr. Round (and I too) had arrived, by an independent line of reasoning and by rather different routes, as to the latest possible date for Survey A.

As stated at the beginning of this paper, I have endeavoured as far as possible to avoid a repetition of what has been explained already by Mr. Round infinitely better than I could explain it, and I must refer to his Notes for particulars of the various obligations and services exacted by the abbots from the different classes of their tenants: *e.g.*, in the case of free tenants sepulture, escort service, entertainment, aid, relief, suit of court, and tithes; in the case of *censarii* occasional services usually of an agricultural nature, such as harvest labour, lending plough or a horse for harrowing or a man for weeding, attending the hunt, and doing fence work; in the case of *villani* similar services and also regular team labour for two days a week; in the case of *bordarii* and *cotseti* regular labour for one day a week. But, as it is in Survey B only that these details are to be found and a considerable part of this Survey was omitted in the edition previously printed, fresh illustrations of the nature of these services can now be drawn from it, which were not available when Mr. Round's Notes were written.

THE WATLING STREET IN STAFFORDSHIRE.

THE course of the Roman roads in Britain and the identity of the stations of the Antonine Itinerary have for centuries past been the subject of much learned discussion, and I cannot hope to throw any fresh light on the numerous puzzles which they present, but it may be useful in these Collections for a History of Staffordshire to restate the difficulties and to summarise the diverse views that have been expressed as to the course of the Watling Street so far as it affects this county.

Watling Street is the name by which the great road from the south-east to the north-west of England has been known for at least ten centuries, and in all probability for several more. It is mentioned by name in the treaty between king Ælfred and Guthrum the Dane, king of the East Angles, shortly after the Peace of Wedmore in A.D. 878, as the termination (if not a part) of the agreed boundary between the Anglo-Saxons and the Danes. This treaty is given in Anglo-Saxon in Birch's *Cartularium Saxonicum* (No. 856, Vol. ii, App. p. xix), and the first clause may be translated as follows:—

1. First about our land-boundaries. Up the Thames, and thence up the Lea, along the Lea to its source, thence straight to Bedford, thence up the Ouse as far as Watling Street.

(The Watling Street crosses the Ouse at Stony Stratford, where that river now forms the county boundary between Buckinghamshire and Northamptonshire.) It is named again as a

national boundary in the treaty *c.* 943 between king Eadmund and Onlaf the Danish king of Deira, as thus recorded by Simeon of Durham (under the year 939):—

Pace itaque facta, terminus utriusque regni erat Wetlingastrete : Edmundus ad australem partem, Onlaf ad aquilonem regnum tenuerunt.

where the references to the north and south sides of the road, as well as the circumstances of the case generally, shew that the boundary ran east and west, and therefore must have included the Staffordshire part of the Watling Street.

In the fourth year after the Conquest an inquisition was made by the king with the advice of his barons into the laws and customs of England, and the return to this inquisition, which is known as *Leges Edovardi Regis*, or the Laws of the Confessor, is generally supposed to represent laws which were in force before the Danish invasion, and which had been revived by the Confessor. Under *cap.* 12, "*De pace Regis*," we read:—

Pax Regis multiplex est alia quam habent quatuor chemini, Watlingstrete, Fosse, Hikenildstrete, and Ermingstrete, quorum duo in longitudinem regni, alii duo in latitudinem distenduntur.

To a breach of the king's peace on these four great roads special penalties were attached, and they were called (*cap.* 13) *chemini Regis*, or king's highways, while the branch roads leading from city to city and from borough to borough were called *chemini minores* and were subject to the jurisdiction of the county court. Under the year 1013, Florence of Worcester, who died in 1118, speaks of

omnis populus qui habitabat in septentrionali plaga Weatlingastrete, id est strata quem filii Weatlæ regis ab Orientali mare usque ad Occidentale per Angliam straverunt.

Referring to about the same period (1016), Geoffrey Gaimar, the Norman rhyming chronicler of the twelfth century, in his *L'Estorie des Engles*, thus describes the agreement between Eadmund Ironside and Cnut:—

Li dui rei vindrent a lur gent ;
 Lendemain fu fait l'acordement.
 Car la terre fu departie,
 Par l'esguard de la barunie :
 Si com curt l'ewe de Tamise,
 Unt esguardé dreite devise,
 E de la liu u ele surt,
 Tresk' en Fosse ; d'iloc recurt,
 E alt tut dreit tresk' *al chemin*
Ke fist faire li reis Belin
Wathelingstrete ; iloc en dreit,
 Trestut le west devise seit.

Without attempting to give an exact translation of this passage, I shall be safe in saying that the boundary here assigned followed the course of the river Thames up to its source (near Cirencester in Gloucestershire), and so across to the Fossway, thence back along the Fossway to its junction with the Watling Street (near High Cross, on the borders of Leicestershire and Warwickshire), and then along the Watling Street right on to the west. The statement as to the construction of the Watling Street by king Belin, as is the case with most of Geoffrey Gaimar's chronicles, was doubtless based upon Geoffrey of Monmouth (1100?–1154), who describes, without giving names to, the four great roads said to have been constructed and made places of sanctuary by that king (who is supposed to have lived in the fourth or fifth century B.C., and to have been the son of Dyfnwal Moelmyd or Duvallus Molmutius). Geoffrey of Monmouth, whose *Historia Regum Britannicæ*, written before 1139 though its final form is assigned to the year 1147, was based upon a certain "liber vetustissimus Britannici sermonis quem Gualterus archidiaconus ex Britannia eduxit," after describing how king Belinus established himself as acknowledged ruler over the whole island from sea to sea, and confirmed the laws of his father Duvallus Molmutius, proceeds (*lib.* III, *cap.* v) as follows :—

Sed de viis orta est discordia quia nesciebatur quibus terminis diffinita essent. Rex ergo omne ambiguum legi suæ auferre volens, convocavit omnes operarios totius insulæ :

jussitque viam ex cæmento et lapidibus fabricari : quæ insulæ longitudinem a Cornubico mari usque ad Cathenesium littus secaret, et ad civitates quæ intra eam erant, recto limite duceret. Jussit etiam aliam fieri in latitudinem regni quæ a Menevia, quæ super Demeticum mare sita est, usque ad portum Hamonis extensa ad urbes intra positas ducatum ostenderet. *Alias quoque duas ab obliquo insulæ*, quæ ad ceteras civitates ducatum præstarent. Deinde sancivit eas omni honore, omni dignitate, jurisque sui esse præcepit, quod de illata super eos violentia vindicta sumeretur. Si quis autem scire voluerit omnia quæ de eis statuerit, legat Molmutinas leges, quas Gildas historicus de Britannico in Latinum, Rex vero Alueredus in Anglicum sermonem transtulit.

Of these four roads the first, extending from the Cornish sea to Caithness, would mean the Fossway, the second, from St. Davids to Southampton, would be Geoffrey's notion of the Icenild Street, and there can be no doubt that by one of the two others "ab obliquo insulæ" would be meant the Watling Street. The translations of the Molmutian laws by Gildas from the British language into Latin and by king Ælfred from Latin into English are unfortunately not now extant.

Henry of Huntingdon, who died in 1155, also describes the four principal British roads (*Mon. Hist. Brit.*, p. 694) thus :—

Tantæ autem gratiæ inhabitantibus fuit Britannia, quod quatuor in ea calles a fine in finem construerent regia sublimatos auctoritate, ne aliquis in eis inimicum invadere auderet. Primus est ab Oriente in Occidentalem, et vocatur Ichenild : secundus est ab Austro in Aquilonem, et vocatur Erningestrete : *tertius est ex transverso a Dorobernia in Cestriam, scilicet ab Euro austro in Zephyrum Septentrionalem, et vocatur Watlingestrate* : quartus, major ceteris, incipit in Catenes et desinit in Totenes, scilicet a principio Cornu-galliæ in finem Scotiæ ; et hic callis vadit ex transverso a Zephyro Australi in Eurum Septentrionalem, et vocatur Fossa, tenditque per Lincolnum. Hi sunt quatuor principales calles Angliæ, multum quidem spatiosi, sed nec minus speciosi, sanciti edictis regum, scriptisque verendis legum.

Two centuries later Ranulf Higden, the monk of St. Werburg, Chester, in his *Polychronicon* (*lib. I, cap. 45*), after citing Geoffrey of Monmouth's account, proceeds to give his own description of the four roads at considerable length, and of the Watling Street he writes:—

Secunda via principalis dicitur Watlingstrete, tendens per transversum prioris viæ [*sc. Fossæ*], viz. ab Euro in Zephyrum Septentrionalem. Incipit enim a Dovoriam, transiens per medium Cantia ultra Thamisiam juxta Londonium ad occidentem Westmonasterii, indeque procedit juxta Sanctum Albanum ad occidentem per Dunstapulum, per Stretfordiam, per Toucestre, Wedunum ad austrum Lilleburnæ, per Atheristoun usque ad montem Gilberti qui modo Wreken dicitur; deinde transcindit Sabrinam juxta Wrokcestre, tendit ad Strettoun, et inde per medium Walliæ usque ad Cardigan in mari Hibernica terminatur.

It will be noticed that Higden differs from Henry of Huntingdon as to the course of the road after Wroxeter. Florence of Worcester's account (already cited) is consistent with either.¹ There certainly was a Roman road leading from Wroxeter in a south-westerly direction to Church Stretton, which was and is still known as the Watling Street, but the same name is also applied to the road leading from Chester to Manchester; and indeed the name occurs again in other parts of England as well. Whether the twelfth-century tradition, that the four great roads, including the Watling Street, were first made by a British king, was founded on fact or not there is no evidence to show, but I can see nothing improbable about the story; and, if the *lex Moltutina* referring to it was translated by Gildas from the British language, the king's peace thereby established could only have been that of a British king. The memory of king Weatla does not, so far as I know, survive now in any other form, but among the British kings named by Geoffrey of Monmouth we read of a Guithelin (the next but one after Belin), whose wife Mercia is

¹ According to the *Brut Tysilio*, which was taken from the Red Book of Hengest, an ancient Welsh MS. belonging to Margam Abbey and afterwards in the library of Jesus College, Oxford, the two roads intersecting the Foss-way terminated in the angular extremities of the island (Roberts's *Chronicle of the Kings of Britain*, pp. 52-3), which suggests Holyhead as the termination of the Watling Street.

supposed to have succeeded him on the throne and to have given to the Mercian people both her name and the *lex Marcia* or Mercenelega, which like the *lex Molmutina* is said to have been translated by Gildas the historian and retranslated into English by king Ælfred. Of Belin's reign, Geoffrey gives quite a long account: he is credited with the building of several cities in Britain, and from him Billingsgate is supposed to have derived its name. Of course these stories of the early British kings cannot be regarded as historical; but they were doubtless founded on tradition, and may well have had a substratum of fact, so that I think they are well worth recording. The origin of the name Watling Street is discussed by Dr. Guest, formerly master of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, in the *Archæological Journal* for June, 1857 (vol. xiv, pp. 99, 113-4), and he derives it from the Celtic "Gwyddel," which name (he says) was applied by the Welsh not only to the Irish¹ but also to the wild men of the weald as distinguished from the peaceable dwellers in the plains. Dr. Guest considered it a likely and appropriate name for a road which ran through vast forests infested by highwaymen. The late Mr. Duignan also has a valuable note on the name Watling Street in his *Staffordshire Place-names* (pp. 162-168); his conclusion was that it is a generic name meaning "the way of the sons of Wætla," and that Wætla was really some unrecorded mythical hero of the Saxons before their arrival in this country, and he calls attention also to Chaucer's description of

the galoxie,
Which men clepeth the milky weye,
For it is white; and some parfeye
Callen hyt *Watlyng strete*

as an illustration of its mythical associations.

But, whatever may be the true origin of its first formation, it is to the Roman occupation of Britain and to the construction or reconstruction of the Watling Street by the Romans as one of their great military roads that it undoubtedly owes its endurance and therefore its real importance. The name itself does not occur in the Antonine Itinerary, but it is clear that for the greater part, at any rate, of its course the Second *Iter* follows the line of the Watling Street, that is to say from Viroconium or

¹ Llan y Gwyddel was the Welsh name for Holyhead. See also *Addenda*.

Uroconium (more often perhaps written Uriconium, but Professor Haverfield adopts the first form), *i.e.* Wroxeter in Shropshire, a few miles to the south-east of Shrewsbury, whence it proceeds across the middle of Staffordshire and the northern corner of Warwickshire, along the boundary between that county and Leicestershire, and so on through Northamptonshire, Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, Hertfordshire, and Middlesex to London. From London the second *Iter*, after a slight deviation apparently, goes on across Kent past Durobrivæ (Rochester) and Durovernum (Canterbury) to Portus Ritupis (the port of Richborough, near Sandwich), while the Third *Iter* takes a more direct course for Rochester and Canterbury, at which last place it branches off to the south and follows the course of the Watling Street to Dover.

Fortunately that part of the Roman road where it crosses Staffordshire, from the county boundary just to the west of Weston-under-Lizard to the opposite boundary at Fazeley Bridge, a little to the south of Tamworth, is for almost its entire length still in existence, and there is hardly any room for controversy except as to the precise position of the various stations mentioned in the Itinerary. But to the north-west of Wroxeter the case is different, and the determination of the course of the road between Deva (Chester) and Viroconium (Wroxeter) is a subject fraught with difficulties. However, as one of the suggestions that have been made is that the site of Mediolanum, one of the stations of the Second *Iter* between Deva and Viroconium, is also in Staffordshire, *viz.* at Chesterton near Newcastle-under-Lyme, it is necessary for us to consider its course between those places.

Notwithstanding all that has been written on this subject by writers on Romano-British Antiquities and County Historians, it certainly cannot be said that any generally accepted conclusion has yet been reached as to the course of this *Iter* between Deva and Viroconium, and particularly as to the exact or even the approximate site of Mediolanum. Looking at the evidence from a purely documentary point of view, we start with the following facts:—

1. Ptolemy, writing about A.D. 120, after mentioning the Brigantes in the north of Britain extending from sea to sea

(i.e. over Yorkshire and Lancashire and the other counties lying still more to the north) with their nine chief towns, and then the Parisi *περὶ τὸν εὐλίμενον κόλπον* (the Humber) with its one chief town, says:—

Ἐπὶ δὲ τούτους καὶ τοὺς Βρίγαντας οἰκοῦσι δυσμικώτατα μὲν Ὀρδοῦικες, ἐν οἷς πόλεις Μεδιολανίον, Βραννογένιον. Τούτων δὲ ἀνατολικώτεροι Κορναῦιοι, ἐν οἷς πόλεις Δηούνα καὶ λεγίων ἢ νικηφόριοι, Οὐιροκόνιον. Μεθ' οὗς Κοριτανοὶ, ἐν οἷς πόλεις Λίνδον, Ῥάγε.

From which we gather that, south of the Brigantes, who (with the Parisi of the Humber) occupied the whole of the country north of the Humber and the Mersey, and starting from the extreme west, first came the Ordovices, whose chief towns were Mediolanium and Brannogenium, then more to the east the Cornavii, whose chief towns were Deuna (Deva ?) with the 20th Legion and Viroconium, and after them the Coritavi, whose chief towns were Lindum and Rage (Ratae ?).

2. The Second *Iter* of the Antonine Itinerary (second to fourth century A.D.) gives the stations of a long route of nearly 500 Roman miles, starting from Blatobulgium or Blatumbulgium, near to but probably on the far side of the *vallum* (or Hadrian's Wall), through the whole length of England, first in a zig-zag course through Luguwallum (probably Carlisle), Eburacum (York) and Deva (Chester) to Uroconium or Viroconium (Wroxeter), and then in a fairly direct course, shaping first due east and afterwards south-east to Londinium (London) and on to the south-east coast at the Roman port of Ritupæ or Portus Ritupis (Richborough in Kent). In the heading of this *Iter* the total distance, "a vallo ad portum Ritupis," is put at 481 Roman miles, but, if we sum up its various stages from Blatobulgium to Portus Ritupis, the total, according to the figures given in the *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, comes to 498 (or according to Parthey & Pinder's edition, which is followed by Mr. Codrington in his *Roman Roads in Britain*, 501, while Horsley, in his *Britannia Romana*, makes it 504, and Gale 505) Roman miles. There must, therefore, be some inaccuracy either in the total or in some of the stages, unless indeed the explanation be that the total given in the heading is reckoned not from Blatobulgium

but from Luguwallum (Carlisle), which we know from the Fifth *Iter* to have been on or near to the Wall ("ad vallum"), in which case the first two stages of the Second *Iter*, amounting to 24 miles, would not be included in the total given, and there would be a slight deficit instead of a considerable surplus in the sum of the various stages. The part with which we are immediately concerned may be said to begin at Mamucium or Manucium (Manchester), from which the *Iter* proceeds as follows:—

Condate	...	...	...	MPM.	xviii
Deva Leug.	xx.	Victrix	...	MPM.	xx
Bovio	...	...	...	MPM.	x
Mediolano	...	...	...	MPM.	xx
Rutunio	...	...	...	MPM.	xii
Uroconio	...	...	...	MPM.	xi
Uxacona	...	...	...	MPM.	xi
Pennocrucio	...	...	...	MPM.	xii
Etoceto	...	...	...	MPM.	xii
Manduessedo	...	...	...	MPM.	xvi
Venonis	...	...	...	MPM.	xii

Here "MPM" stands for "millia passuum," *i.e.* Roman miles, some writers understanding the last two letters to mean *plus minus*, "more or less," but this seems hardly necessary. According to the latest and most approved computation 12 Roman miles were equal to 11 English statute miles, but there still remains some doubt as to whether a Roman mile was measured (as Horsley thought) horizontally without regard to inequalities of the surface or (as one would have expected) along the actual surface of the road.

3. The Tenth *Iter* of the Antonine Itinerary is a comparatively short one of about 150 Roman miles from Clanoventa, identified by some as Ellenborough on the coast of Cumberland, to Mediolanum, of which the last two stages from Mancunium (Manchester) are

Condate	...	...	...	MPM.	xviii
Mediolano	...	...	...	MPM.	xviii (or xviii)

4. Lastly, the anonymous Ravenna geographer, supposed to be of the seventh century A.D., gives a list of towns in Britain, which include in the order named the following places, *viz.*

Utriconium Cornoninorum (Wroxeter), Lavobrinta (), *Mediomanum* (), Seguntium (Carnarvon), Canubium (Caer Rhun near Conway), *Mediolanum* (), Sandonium (), *Dena Victrix* (Chester), Veratinum (Warrington ?), Lutudarum (Chesterfield ?), Derbentio (Little Chester by Derby), Salinæ (Nantwich ?), and *Condate* (either Northwich, or Kinderton near Middlewich, or Wilderspool on the Cheshire side of the Mersey opposite Warrington ?).

These four passages are practically all that we have in the way of documentary evidence (for the so-called Itinerary of Richard of Cirencester has been proved to be a modern eighteenth-century fabrication), and they are not easy to reconcile with one another. Of the above-mentioned places, named in the Second Antonine *Iter*, it is generally agreed that Deva is Chester, Uroconium (or Viroconium) Wroxeter, Uxacona at or near Oakengates or the Red Hill, Pennocrucium about Stretton or Gailey near Penkridge, Etocetum (or Letocetum) Wall near Lichfield, Manduessedum Mancetter near Atherstone, and Venonæ at or near High Cross, where the Watling Street crosses the Foss Way. But opinions have varied considerably as to the identity of Condate, and still more as to the position and even the general locality of Bovium, Mediolanum and Rutunium. Professor Haverfield and Miss Taylor, in their article on Romano-British Shropshire in the *Shropshire Victoria County History* (p. 268), say :—“ Clear as Watling Street is as far as Wroxeter “ [*i.e.* from the south], its continuation north towards Chester is “ very puzzling. Of the fact of the continuation there can be no “ doubt. Strategic and commercial reasons demand it; the “ Itinerary mentions it; evidence of the road still exists close to “ Wroxeter and to Chester, and a broken milestone marks its “ course half-way. Unfortunately the Itinerary gives us little “ clue. It assists to prove the existence of the road; it involves “ its precise course in Stygian darkness. The actual distance “ between Wroxeter and Chester is about 40 English miles, that “ is 43 or 44 Roman miles. The Itinerary distance is 53 Roman “ miles. We must conclude either that a superfluous unit has “ strayed into the text—for instance that Bovium was distant “ x m.p. instead of xx m.p. from Mediolanum—or that the route “ somewhere deviated from the natural straight line. Not one

“of the three stations between Wroxeter and Chester—Bovium, “Mediolanum and Rutunium—has been identified with any kind “of strong probability. We must therefore proceed to track the “road by the faint traces visible on the surface.” They then proceed to trace a road by lanes and hedge-rows in a northerly direction from Wroxeter past Norton, Uckington, Duncot, Withington, Poynton Grange, Little Wytheford, Shawbury, and Moreton Corbet, then crossing the Roden near Harcourt Mill, past Moston, near which place parts of two Roman milestones were found in a shallow pool lying on a bed of gravel in 1812, and in the neighbourhood of which they tentatively fix the site of Rutunium, and so on to Holloway. From this point they say no trace can be detected for 17 miles, but they suggest a possible line in a north-westerly direction a little to the west of Whitchurch and Malpas and so to Stretton, past Morris Bridge and the old ford over the Dee at Aldford, from which an undoubted Roman road ran through Eaton Park and Eccleston to Chester. From the reference here to Rutunium I gather that they are inclined to look upon this northern road from Wroxeter as the line of the Second Antonine *Iter*, but they also mention (p. 269) traces of another road leading in a westerly direction from Wroxeter to Westbury, and so on in the direction of Caersws in Montgomeryshire, which Mr. Codrington (*Roman Roads in Britain*, p. 82) says was an undoubted Roman station 3 miles west of Newtown.

It may be convenient to state here shortly some of the difficulties which the documentary evidence presents, and which have given rise to so remarkable a diversity of opinion as to the course of the second *Iter* between Deva and Viroconium. The Mediolanum of Ptolemy is stated to be one of the two chief towns of the Ordovices, who inhabited the country to the west of the Cornavii, the chief towns of the latter being Deuna (or Deva) and Viroconium, that is Chester and Wroxeter. The obvious inference is that Ptolemy's Mediolanum was somewhere in (or near the border of) North Wales. The Mediolanum of the *Tenth* Antonine *Iter* lay 18 (or according to another reading 19) Roman (say about 17 or 17½ English) miles from Condate, which last place is shewn by the Second *Iter* to lie somewhere between Mamucium (Manchester) and Deva (Chester) and

rather nearer to the former than to the latter. The Mediolanum of the Second *Iter* lay 30 Roman (about $27\frac{1}{2}$ English) miles from Deva (Chester) *viâ* Bovium : it was also 23 Roman (or rather more than 21 English) miles from Viroconium (Wroxeter) *viâ* Rutunium. Can all these three places called Mediolanium or Mediolanum be one and the same? If not, were the two called Mediolanum of the Second and Tenth *Itinera* the same, or was the Mediolanum of the Second *Iter* a different place and identical with Ptolemy's Mediolanium? One school of thought, identifying the Mediolanum of the Second *Iter* with Ptolemy's Mediolanium, have traced the course of this *Iter* from Deva (Chester) in a southerly direction through Bovium, considered by many to be Bangor on the Dee, to Mediolanum, which Camden placed at Mathraval or Meivod on the Vyrnwy between Llanvyllin and Welshpool, and the Editors of the *Monumenta Historica Britannica* at Clawdd Coch rather more to the north, near Llanymynech, where Offa's Dyke crosses the Vyrnwy. Another school, identifying the Mediolanum of the Second *Iter* with that of the Tenth *Iter*, place it at Chesterton near Newcastle-under-Lyme in North Staffordshire, where a Roman camp certainly existed, though little in the way of Roman remains has yet been found there. A third school, following a suggestion first made by Horsley in a note to his *Britannia Romana* (p. 418) and put forward as their first alternative by Professor Haverfield and Miss Taylor, would cut the Gordian knot by supposing an error of a figure in the Itinerary (*e.g.* a superfluous x in the stage of the Second *Iter* between Bovium and Mediolanum), in which case I suppose they would place this Mediolanum not far from Whitchurch, and Bovium somewhere in the neighbourhood of Stretton in Cheshire. The existence of more than one place of the name of Mediolanum presents no particular difficulty, assuming that they belonged to different British tribes. As Mr. Conybeare points out in his *Roman Britain* (2nd Ed., p. 173), towns quite remote from each other bore the same name. There were two called Isca (Isca Silurum, or Caerleon-on-Usk, and Isca Dumnoniorum, or Exeter), three called Venta (Venta Belgarum or Winchester, Venta Silurum or Caerwent, and Venta Icenorum, probably Caistor St. Edmunds in Norfolk), as well as two called Calleva, two Segontium, and several Magna; and according to some

authorities *Mediolanum* stands simply for the central "llan."¹ There is therefore nothing improbable in the existence of a *Mediolanum Cornavorum* as well as a *Mediolanum Ordovicum*. There were in fact several places called *Mediolanum* on the Continent, *e.g.* *Mediolanum*, the capital of the *Insubres*, now Milan; *Mediolanum Santonum*, now *Saintes*, in *Guienne* on the river *Charente*; *Mediolanum Aulercorum*, a town of *Gallia Celtica*, now *Evreux*, in *Normandy*; and *Mediolanum Gugernorum*, a town of *Gallia Belgica*, now the village of *Moyland* near *Cologne*. In Britain the anonymous *Ravenna* geographer mentions a *Mediomanum* as well as a *Mediolanum*, but the order in which the names of his places are given, though probably following some geographical line, does not indicate the line with sufficient clearness to be of much help in identifying the places named.

Before determining the sites of *Bovium*, *Mediolanum* and *Rutunium* in the Second *Iter* it is necessary, or at least desirable, to fix the site of *Condate*, because the Tenth *Iter* gives the distance between *Condate* and *Mediolanum* as 18 (or 19) Roman miles, while the Second *Iter* shews that it lay somewhere between *Mamucium* (*Manchester*) and *Deva* (*Chester*), and was distant 18 Roman miles from the former and 20 from the latter. As *Manchester* cannot be much less than 36 English miles from *Chester*, there is really no room for much (if any) deviation between these points. *Camden* suggested *Congleton* for *Condate*, but there is little to be said in favour of this: the name is only superficially similar, and the distances from *Manchester* and *Chester* are too great. *Bishop Bennet* of *Cloyne*, *Whitaker*, *Watkins*, *Ormerod* and the Editors of the *Mon. Hist. Brit.* all place *Condate* at *Kinderton* near *Middlewich*: *Horsley*, *Stukeley*, *Codrington* and *Barns* prefer *Northwich* or its vicinity: *Helsby*, the Editor of the latest edition of *Ormerod's Cheshire*, following *Dr. Robson*, *Mr. Beamont* and *Dr. Kendrick*, inclines towards *Wilderspool* on the *Cheshire* side of the *Mersey* opposite *Warrington*. Each of these three is a possible site, and there are, I understand, Roman remains at all of them, but perhaps the *Itinerary* distances correspond best with some position on the

¹ *i.e.* habitation or inclosure; hence churchyard, church. *Vide* *Bullet's Dictionnaire Celtique, sub nom.* But *cf. ib.*, i. 372, 457, where *Mediolanum* is derived from "med," fertile, and "lan," soil, land.

direct road between Manchester and Chester, about a mile on the Manchester side of Northwich, which last place is rather nearer Chester than Manchester. Mr. Codrington (*Roman Roads in Britain*, p. 94) says: "Where Kind Street crosses "Watling Street on the east of Northwich, Horsley with reason "places Condate. According to *Iter II* it is 20 m.p. from Deva "and 18 m.p. from Mamucium, which are doubtless Chester "and Manchester: 36 miles apart compared with 38 m.p. The "intersection of Kind Street is exactly mid-way, and if Condate "were to the west [*sic*] of that the distances would agree fairly "well." In this passage "west" must, I think, be a clerical error for "east," for Condate was nearer to Mamucium than to Deva; but with this qualification the arguments in favour of the site preferred by Mr. Codrington appear to me to preponderate, though other conclusions are quite possible.

Let us now return to the much vexed question as to the route between Deva and Viroconium.¹

The first theory—that of Camden and the Editors of the *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, *sc.* a westerly deviation—has on the face of things much to recommend it. It assumes, indeed, that the Mediolanum of the Second *Iter* was a different place from the Mediolanum of the Tenth *Iter*, but it fixes the approximate site of the former where the extract from Ptolemy would lead one to expect: under it the course of this great *Iter* between Chester and Wroxeter would follow what one would suppose to be the natural strategic line of defence, separating the lowlands of Cheshire and Shropshire from the Welsh hill country, and lying not far distant from the lines of the later Anglo-Saxon earth works known as Watt's Dyke and Offa's Dyke: and I apprehend that there would be no difficulty in suggesting a route, the total length of which would accord fairly well with the distances given in the Antonine Itinerary, though it might not be so easy to determine the actual sites of the stations. But the traces left here of Roman roads are, I understand, to be found with certainty only between Chester and Aldford, and possibly between West-

¹ It is hoped that the sketch map at the end of this paper may help in making the different contentions more easy to follow. The Roman roads and the names of the stations in the Itinerary are marked in red, the doubtful parts being distinguished by dotted lines or notes of interrogation.

bury and Wroxeter, and it is by no means easy to fix upon the most likely stages at the right distances along this route. Both Camden and the Editors of the *Mon. Hist. Brit.* agree in identifying Bangor-on-the-Dee as the site of *Bovium*, but Bangor is nearly 13 English miles from Chester as the crow flies, instead of 10 Roman miles, which would more nearly accord with a station at or near Stretton or the Castle Mound between Caldecote and Shocklach, or even at Wrexham. Reynolds places *Bovium* still further west at Queen Hope, in co. Flint, and *Mediolanum* at Whitchurch. Then as regards *Mediolanum*, Camden places it at Mathraval or Meivod on the Vyrnwy, between Llanvyllin and Welshpool, but here again the distances are much too great for the Itinerary mileage. The Editors of the *Mon. Hist. Brit.* fix its site at Clawdd Coch (near Llanymynech), where there is an ancient camp, and near to which there is a bridge (once perhaps a ford) over the Vyrnwy: this, however, though approximately the right distance from Bangor-on-the-Dee, is too far from Chester and from Stretton or the Castle Mound near Caldecote. For *Rutunium* both Camden and the Editors of the *Mon. Hist. Brit.* suggest Rowton Castle, which lies about 12 miles from and nearly due west of Wroxeter. If we start from the Castle Mound and proceed in a straight line across country in the direction of Llanymynech, the 20 Roman miles of the Itinerary would bring us somewhere near Llyncllys, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles north of Llanymynech; a further 12 Roman miles, crossing the Vyrnwy at Llanymynech, then following the line of Offa's Dyke to a place called Street, and proceeding thence in a south-easterly direction, would bring us nearly to Rowton, which is about the same distance from Wroxeter. But this is only a suggestion arising out of the distances given in the Itinerary, and (with the exception of the place-name, Street) I am not aware of the discovery of Roman remains or any other evidence which would justify its serious consideration.

The second theory supposes a deviation somewhere between *Deva* and *Viroconium* in an easterly direction. Of this second theory, Horsley may be considered the first exponent: he suggests indeed in a note (p. 418) the possibility of there being a superfluous x in the mileage of the Antonine Itinerary between *Bovium* and *Mediolanum*, but in the text he advocates the placing of *Mediolanum* somewhere near Draiton, *i.e.*, Market Drayton

in Shropshire. Bovium he locates near Stretton, and Rutunium on the Roden near Wem. Horsley thought that the Mediolanium of Ptolemy was the Mediomannum of the Ravenna geographer, and that the Mediolanum of the latter and of the two Antonine *Itinera* was some town of the Cornavii more to the east. But, even so, his suggested course here does not touch Staffordshire. A still more easterly deviation from the direct line, taking a zigzag course through Cheshire, North Staffordshire, and Shropshire, was suggested some years ago by W. T. Watkin in his article on Roman Shropshire in the *Shropshire Archaeological Society's Transactions* (1st ser., ii, 317); and of this a most strenuous champion has recently arisen in the Rev. Thomas Barns, vicar of Hilderstone, who has written several articles on the subject; these have been reprinted in pamphlet form from the *Transactions of the North Staffordshire Field Club*, vol. xlii (1908), pp. 103-148, and the *Staffordshire Advertiser* of 19th November, 1904, and (reprint dated) October, 1909. Mr. Barns begins by pointing out that, assuming the distances in the two *Itinera* to be correct, Condate must be nearly equidistant from Mancunium (or Mamucium), Deva and Mediolanum, and for the site of Condate he prefers Northwich to Kinderton (near Middlewich) on the grounds that the latter is too far from Manchester, and that the meaning of the name Condate, which suggests the junction of two rivers, is quite as applicable to the junction of the Weaver and the Dane at Northwich as to that of the Wheelock and the Dane at Middlewich. Having fixed Condate at Northwich, he proceeds to fix Mediolanum at Chesterton near Newcastle-under-Lyme in Staffordshire, saying that the distance between Northwich and Chesterton corresponds more or less with that between Condate and Mediolanum. (In point of fact the distance appears to be about 19 English or nearly 21 Roman miles instead of 18 or 19 Roman miles.) So far he is in substantial agreement with other writers who have preceded him. Turning next to the Second *Iter*, and proceeding on the assumption that the Mediolanum of that *Iter* and the Mediolanum of the Tenth *Iter* are one and the same, he reconstructs the course of the route from Chester (Deva), first in an E.S.E. direction through Bunbury (where he locates Bovium) to Chesterton (Mediolanum), then at almost an acute angle S.W. to Shawbury (Rutunium), and then due S. to Wroxeter (Viro-

conium), after which the course is beyond question nearly due E. to Uxacona and so on across Staffordshire. To meet the objection that this site for Mediolanum is inconsistent with Ptolemy's statement as to Mediolanium being a chief town of the Ordovices, whose territory lay to the west of the Cornavii, the chief towns of the latter being Deva and Viroconium, he makes two suggestions : (1) (in his earlier papers written in 1904 and 1908) that the passage in Ptolemy is obscure and that Ptolemy probably meant to include Viroconium among the towns of the Ordovices, the reference to the Cornavii and Deva as their *only* town being parenthetical, and (2) (in his paper of 1909) that the Cornavii were merely a clan of the Ordovices. The first suggestion, however, is founded on a misreading of the passage in Ptolemy, where the word used in connection with the Cornavii is *πόλεις* not *πόλις*, and the suggested obscurity of the passage is not obvious ; I think that Mr. Barns must afterwards have recognised this himself, for he puts the argument rather differently in his latest paper (1909). His second suggestion is not very convincing, nor does it appear to carry the argument very far. To me, at any rate, it seems that, if this really be the true course of the Second *Iter*, the only possible explanation is that Ptolemy's Mediolanium was a different place altogether from the Mediolanum of the two *Itinera* and lay more to the west, perhaps somewhere in the middle of North Wales ; and indeed this is how Horsley understood it. Another objection, which Mr. Barns recognises that he has to meet, is that the distance from Chesterton to Wroxeter *viâ* Shawbury is about 32 English miles (= nearly 35 Roman miles), while the distance between Mediolanum and Viroconium *viâ* Rutunium in the Itinerary is only $12 + 11 = 23$ Roman miles. Mr. Barns meets it by suggesting that one stage is accidentally omitted in the Itinerary, and he boldly supplies the omission by taking the Mediomanum of the anonymous Ravenna geographer and placing it at Little Manchester, near Mucklestone, as a station between Mediolanum and Rutunium, which he thinks may have dropped out by a clerical error caused by the close resemblance between the two names Mediolanum and Mediomanum. To this I can only say that, if it is permissible to take such a liberty with the text of the Antonine Itinerary, Professor Haverfield's suggestion of the accidental

omission of an x in the mileage between Bovium and Mediolanum is modest indeed, and seems much to be preferred. I might add that, as the aggregate distance of the several stages included in this *Iter* already amounts to considerably more than the total distance as given in the heading, to insert an extra stage of 11 Roman miles would only add to the difficulties. The course suggested by Mr. Barns is so erratic that it is difficult to believe it can be the correct one for a great military road traversing the whole length of England from the Wall in the north to Richborough on the south-east coast of Kent. If the text of the Itinerary is to be taken as it stands, and assuming the deviation to be in an easterly direction, the most probable course from Chester to Wroxeter seems to me to be by Stretton (Bovium) to near Market Drayton (Mediolanum), then back to Harcourt Mill or Moreton Corbet (Rutunium). This is substantially the route advocated by Horsley, except that it substitutes Harcourt Mill or Moreton Corbet for Wem, so far following the line traced by Professor Haverfield and Miss Taylor. The distances would correspond fairly well with the Itinerary mileage, and all the traces of Roman remains found by Professor Haverfield (with the possible exception of the broken milestones found near Moston) would lie on this route.

The third theory, *i.e.*, the direct route through or near to Malpas and Whitchurch, originally suggested as a possibility in a note by Horsley, and put forward tentatively by Professor Haverfield and Miss Taylor, is the one adopted by Mr. Page and Miss Keats in their article on Romano-British Staffordshire in the *Staffordshire Victoria County History* (pp. 188-9): and although it involves a slight alteration of the text of the Antonine Itinerary, upon the whole it will probably be thought to be the one open to the fewest objections. The absence of any existing traces of the road between Moston or Holloway and Stretton or Aldford is attributed by Professor Haverfield to the nature of the ground over which it passed, this being full of marshes and liable to floods from the overflow of the Dee and its tributaries. The difficulty in reaching a satisfactory conclusion as to this part of the course of the Second *Iter* was doubtless felt by Mr. Codrington, who in his recent book on Roman roads avoids expressing any opinion upon it, and (as Mr. Barns complains) rather shirks

the question (*Roman Roads in Britain*, 2nd ed., 1905, see pp. 19-22, 70-79, 82, 91-94). But, if we find it difficult to accept Chesterton in North Staffordshire as the site of the Mediolanum of the Second *Iter*, it is quite possible that it may be the Mediolanum of the Tenth *Iter*; and in any case there may well have been a Roman road passing through Chesterton to Stoke-upon-Trent (near which a piece of what is supposed to be Roman pavement has been found), and so on across Staffordshire to the Derbyshire border. As to this, see Commander Wedgwood's article on Early Staffordshire History (*ante*, pp. 140, 141).

We come now to that part of the Watling Street which runs in a well-defined course right across Staffordshire from near Weston-under-Lizard to Fazeley Bridge, and which for almost its entire length is still in existence. The first stage of the Antonine *Iter*, after leaving Viroconium, is 11 Roman miles to Uxacona, then 12 to Pennocrucium, 12 more to Etoctetum, 16 to Manduessedum, and 12 to Venonæ, total 63 Roman miles. Assuming Viroconium to be Wroxeter, and Venonæ to be High Cross, the actual distance of this section in English statute miles is 60 or 61, so that here the ratio of a Roman to an English mile would be less than the usual computation of 12 to 11. Or, if we take a still smaller section from Wroxeter to Wall, we find the actual distance to be about 35 English miles as compared with exactly the same number of Roman miles between Viroconium and Etoctetum in the Itinerary. Most authorities have agreed in identifying Uxacona with Oakengates (in Shropshire) and Pennocrucium with Stretton, near which place the Watling Street crosses the river Penk: and, if we are to be guided by the names, there is much to be said for these identifications. It is easy to see a connection between the last three syllables of *Uxacona* and the first two of *Oakengate*, while in the earliest mention that we have of the river Penk, *viz.* in the Pleas of the Forest of Cannock, A.D. 1286, it is described as the river called Pencriz (*Staff Coll.*, v. pt. 1, p. 166, *cf.* p. 177). The place where the Watling Street crosses the Penk was then known as Stretwyle, and it was within the vill or township of Eton, *i.e.* Water Eaton (*Ibid.*, p. 177). It must have been very near this point where the other Roman road, leading from the Watling Street through Newport to Whitchurch and Chester, branched off (*cf. ante*, p. 142). In the

Staffordshire Victoria County History Mr. Page and Miss Keats, in accepting (though with some reserve) these sites for Uxacona and Pennocrucium, say that the Itinerary distance corresponds approximately with the actual distance. But, if this statement was intended to apply to the distance between Wroxeter and Oakengates as well as to that between Oakengates and Stretton (which is very doubtful), some latitude must here be given to the word "approximately"; for, although the distance between Oakengates and Stretton is but a little over 12 English miles, that between Wroxeter and Oakengates is less than 9, while the distance from Stretton to Wall is quite $13\frac{1}{2}$ English miles, as compared with the 11 and 12 Roman miles respectively of the Itinerary. If therefore we pin our faith to the accuracy of the Itinerary mileage, we should be more inclined to follow Mr. Codrington (*Roman Roads in Britain*, p. 79) in placing Uxacona somewhere near the Red Hill (between Oakengates and Crackley Bank), and Pennocrucium at or near the Spread Eagle in Gailey, where the road begins to deflect a little more towards the south. Both Stretton and Gailey are comparatively modern parishes, and both were formerly included in the old parish of Penkridge, so that in either case the name Pennocrucium is not inapplicable. So far, I believe, no discoveries of importance have been made of Roman antiquities at any place between Wroxeter and Wall, and there may have been only wayside stations at the intervening places. At Wall excavations have already been made with a considerable amount of success, but there is a fairly large area of ground there still remaining to be explored. It is at Wall that the only break occurs in the Staffordshire part of the Watling Street as it now exists. The course for the last $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles up to Wall runs almost due east, and here it must have turned again rather more to the south; for after about three-quarters of a mile it reappears at Lawton Grange and runs in a straight line at right angles to the Ryknield Street direct to Mancetter (Manduessedum) near Atherstone in Warwickshire. The name for Wall, as given in the Antonine Itinerary, is Etocetum, but there are reasons for thinking that the more correct form of the name was Letocetum or Lectocetum, Lectoceto being one of the places named by the anonymous Ravenna geographer; and, if so, it may well be that

it was from Letocetum that Lichfield derived its name. Mr. Barns suggests with much probability that before the Roman occupation there was an old Celtic sanctuary and gorsedd at Penkridge and another at Lichfield, and that from these places, well known to the British inhabitants, the Roman stations of Pennocrucium and Letocetum, situate some 2 or 3 miles off on the Watling Street, took their names, just as the British stronghold on the Wrekin gave its name to Viroconium or Wroxeter, the Celtic name of the district being probably Gwricon (Rhys's *Celtic Britain*, p. 324; *Shropshire Vict. Co. Hist.*, pp. 220-1), while the old English name of the settlers there was Wreocensetna. Mr. Barns, following Professor Rhys, derives the name Pennocrucium from a Celtic form Pencilrûg or Penn Cruc, meaning "Chief of the Mound"; but the late Mr. Duignan preferred Pen Crioch or Criche, *i.e.* "head or end of the border, frontier," as the origin of the name, and he pointed out that the river Penk or Pencrig was an ancient boundary of Cannock Forest, from which a level plain stretched as far as the Wrekin, and that it would form a natural boundary of some district in prehistoric times (*Staffordshire Place-names, sub voce*). The oldest known form of the name Lichfield appears to be Lyccidfelth (see Beda, *lib. iv, cap. iii*), which was sometimes written Liccidfeld or Licetfelt. Mr. Barns connects the termination "cetum" of Letocetum with the Celtic word "coed" (wood), and refers to an identification of Lichfield by Mr. Bradley with the Cair Luitcoith of Nennius (*Mon. Hist. Brit.*, p. 77).

In the above review of the documentary evidence as to the course of and the stations on the north-western part of the Watling Street I have endeavoured to state as impartially as I can the difficulties which arise and the most important of the various suggestions which have been made to meet them. Besides this documentary evidence there is of course to be considered also such evidence as is afforded by any discoveries made of Roman remains along the suggested routes. Upon this I have barely touched, for I have not the necessary qualifications to deal with it adequately: and I must leave it to such readers as may be possessed of the requisite local knowledge and general learning about Roman antiquities to form their own conclusions.

Before closing, it may perhaps be useful for the purpose of comparison if I set out the distances of the various stages along the Watling Street (1) in Roman miles as taken from the Antonine Itinerary, with their equivalents in English miles according to the most approved reckoning of 12 Roman to 11 English statute miles, and (2) in English miles as measured on the Ordnance map. For the stages between Wroxeter and Dover this has indeed already been done by Mr. Codrington (*Roman Roads in Britain*, p. 79), and here I will give his figures as well as my own, as, though substantially the same, they are not always absolutely identical. Mr. Codrington starts from Dover, which Ranulf Higden gives as one of the *termini* of the Watling Street, though the *terminus* of the Second *Iter* is not Dover but Portus Ritupis (Richborough); and he takes his first stage, as well as the stage or stages between Durobrivæ (Rochester) and Londinium (London) from the Third instead of the Second *Iter*;—for it is clear that in the Second *Iter* there must here have been either a mistake in the mileage or else some deviation from the direct line in order to pass by Vagniacæ and Noviomagum. I will adopt the same course, proceeding, however, in the opposite direction, so as to follow the route of the Itinerary; and I will first supply the stages between Deva (Chester) and Viroconium (Wroxeter), which Mr. Codrington does not give, taking them along the direct route and making the mileage emendation suggested or approved of by Professor Haverfield.

	Rom.	Eng.		C.G.O.B.
		(<i>Iter</i> II)	Chester—	
Deva—			Stretton ...	9
Bovio ...	...	x = $9\frac{2}{1\frac{1}{2}}$	Whitchurch ...	9
Mediolano ...	xx[x?]	= [$9\frac{2}{1\frac{1}{2}}$]	Harcourt Mill (near Moston)	$11\frac{1}{2}$
Rutunio ...	...	xii = 11	Wroxeter ...	$10\frac{1}{2}$
Uroconio ...	...	xi = $10\frac{1}{1\frac{1}{2}}$		
		<hr/>		
		xliii = $39\frac{5}{1\frac{1}{2}}$		<hr/> 40 <hr/>

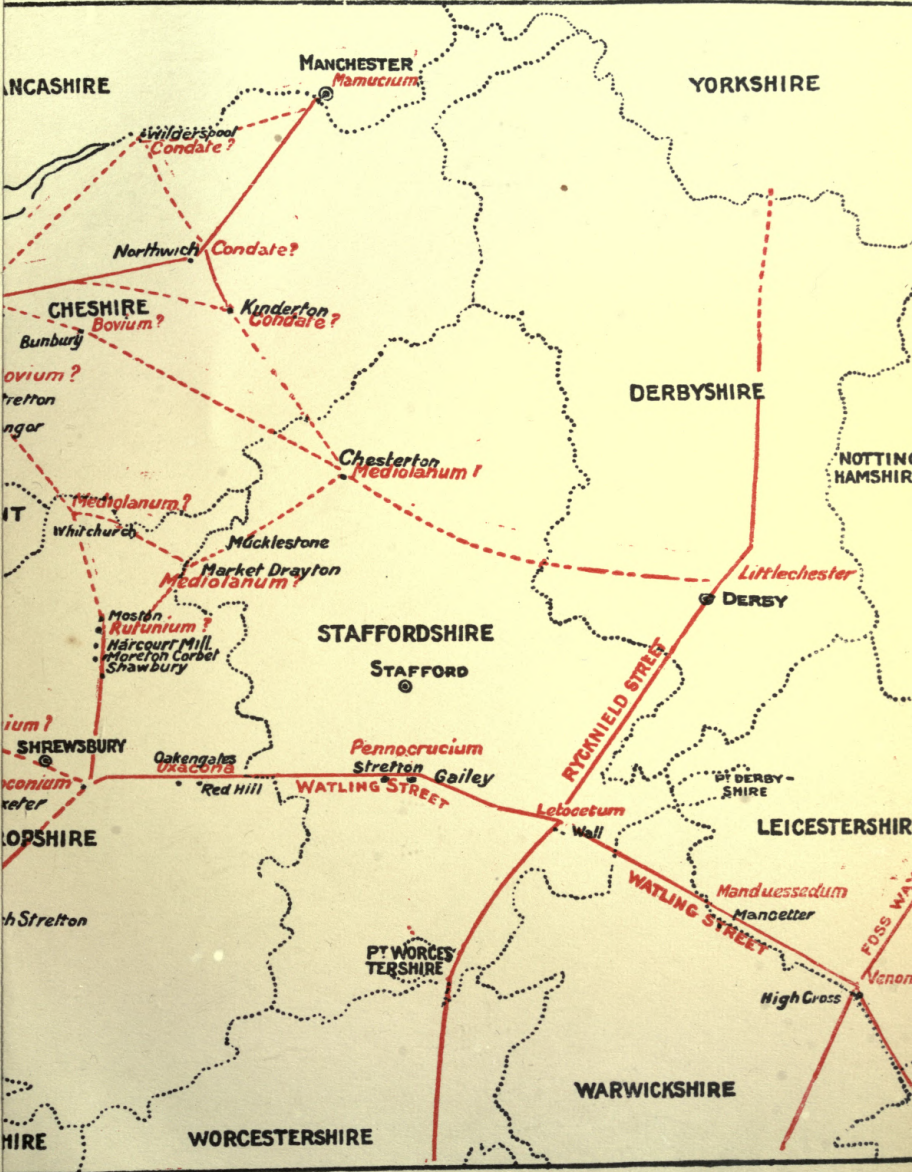
	Rom.	Eng.		Mr. C.	C.G.O.B.	
Uroconium—		(<i>Iter</i> II)	Wroxeter—			
Uxacona ...	xi	= 10 $\frac{1}{3}$	Red Hill ...	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	10 $\frac{3}{4}$	
Pennocrucio ...	xii	= 11	Gailey... ...	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Etoceto ...	xii	= 11	Wall ...	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	12	
Manduessedo ...	xvi	= 14 $\frac{8}{12}$	Mancetter ...	15	15	
Venonis... ...	xii	= 11	High Cross ...	11	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Bennavenna ...	xvii	= 15 $\frac{7}{12}$	Norton Park ...	18	17 $\frac{1}{4}$	
			(near)			
Lactodoro ...	xii	= 11	Towcester ...	11	11	
Magiovinto ...	xvii	= 15 $\frac{7}{12}$	Fenny Stratford	15 $\frac{1}{2}$	15	
Durocobrivis ...	xii	= 11	Dunstable ...	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	11	
Verolamio ...	xii	= 11	Verulam ...	12	12	
			(St. Albans)			
Sulloniacis ...	ix	= 8 $\frac{3}{12}$	Brockley Hill...	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	9	
Londinio ...	xii	= 11	London [Bridge]	13 $\frac{1}{2}$	13 $\frac{1}{2}$	
(<i>Iter</i> II)		(<i>Iter</i> III)				
<i>Noviomago</i> x	} ...	xxvii = 24 $\frac{9}{12}$	Rochester ...	29	28	
<i>Vagniacis</i> xviii						
Durobrivis ix						
		(<i>Iter</i> II)				
Durolevo ...	xiii	= 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	[Green Street]	} 26	} 13 $\frac{1}{2}$	
			(near)			
Duroverno ...	xii	= 11	Canterbury ...		12 $\frac{1}{2}$	
<i>Ad Portum Ritupis</i> xii						
(<i>Iter</i> III)		(<i>Iter</i> III)				
Ad Portum Dubris	xiv	= 12 $\frac{3}{12}$	Dover ...	15	15	
	ccxx	= 201 $\frac{8}{12}$		220	217 $\frac{1}{2}$	

The striking features of this comparison are (1) that the actual English mileage as measured on the map between Wroxeter and Dover corresponds more closely with the Roman mileage of the Itinerary between the same places than with its supposed English equivalent, (indeed, if we accept Mr. Codrington's measurements, the correspondence in the total distance is exact), and (2) that, whereas between Wroxeter and London the measured English mileage is slightly less than the

Roman mileage of the Itinerary, between London and Dover it is actually rather more. In tracing the line of the road through London I have followed the course of the ancient road which led from Tyburn at the bottom of the Edgware Road to London Bridge, and which ran along Oxford Street, Holborn and Cannon Street and included the street leading from the south-east corner of St. Paul's Cathedral (which still bears the name of Watling Street) and Budge Row. But it seems more probable that the original course of the Watling Street itself continued in a direct line from Tyburn, near Park Lane and across the Green Park and St. James's Park to Westminster, without actually touching London. In the passage already cited from Higden he speaks of the crossing of the Thames, "*juxta Londinium ad occidentem Westmonasterii*," and from Thorney island near where the Abbey now stands there was an ancient ferry over the river to Stanegate in Lambeth. South of the river the line of the road has been clearly traced past the Lock Hospital to Deptford and Blackheath. There would be a slight saving of distance by this route, but the difference would be less than a mile. The site of the gallows, which once stood at Tyburn, would mark the spot where the two roads separated, and their point of reunion to the south of the Thames would be near St. George's Church, where the more direct line by Westminster meets the Old Kent Road. The building of London Bridge and the consequent diversion of the traffic through London would be sufficient to account for the gradual disuse of the ferry at Westminster. (See Stukeley's *Iter Curiosum*, pp. 118, 119; Codrington's *Roman Roads in Britain*, pp. 56, 65, 66; and *Victoria Co. Hist. London*, p. 30.)

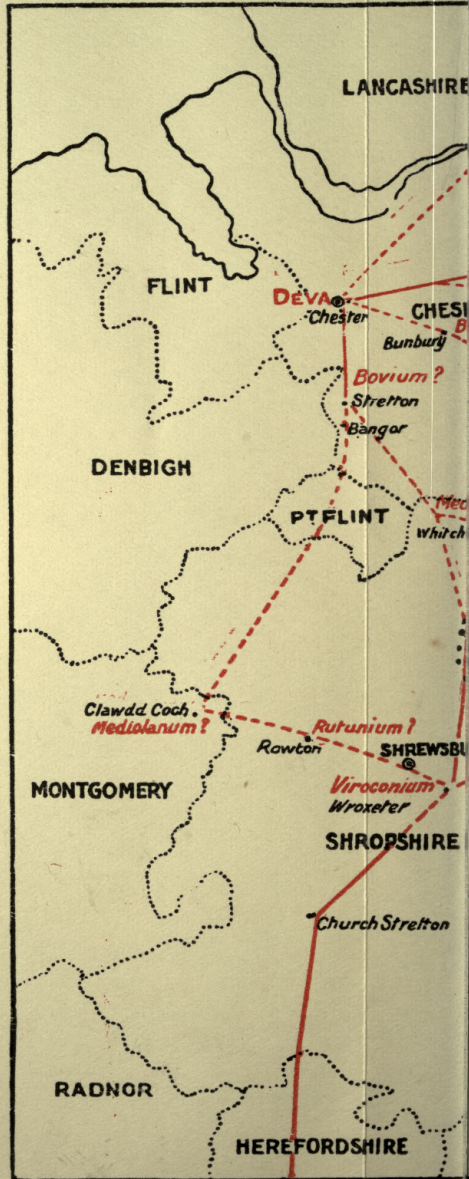
SKETCH MAP.

STREET BETWEEN VENONÆ (HIGH CROSS) AND VIROCONIUM (WROXETER) AND THAT HAVE BEEN MADE AS TO SITES OF STATIONS ON ITS COURSE AND FOR NUATION TO DEVA (CHESTER) AND MAMUCIUM (MANCHESTER).



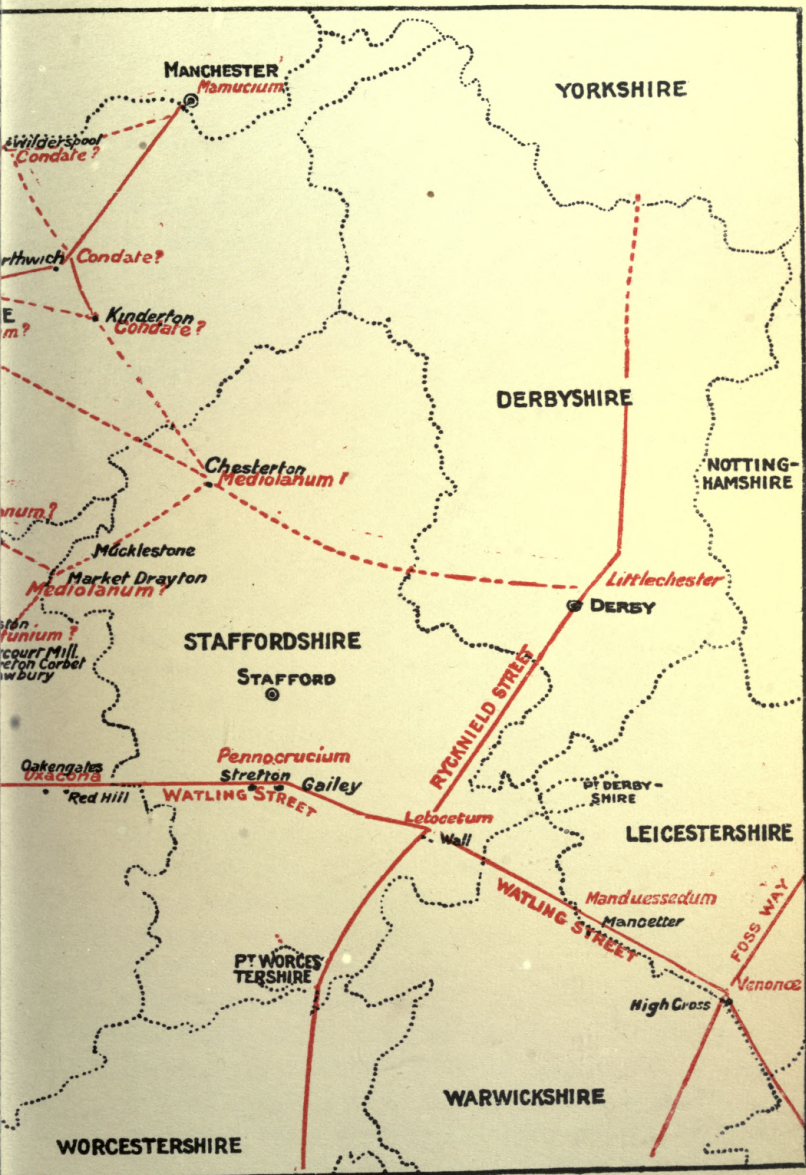
To face page 324.

SHOWING LINE OF WATLING STREET
VARIOUS SUGGESTIONS THAT HAVE
ITS CONTINUATION

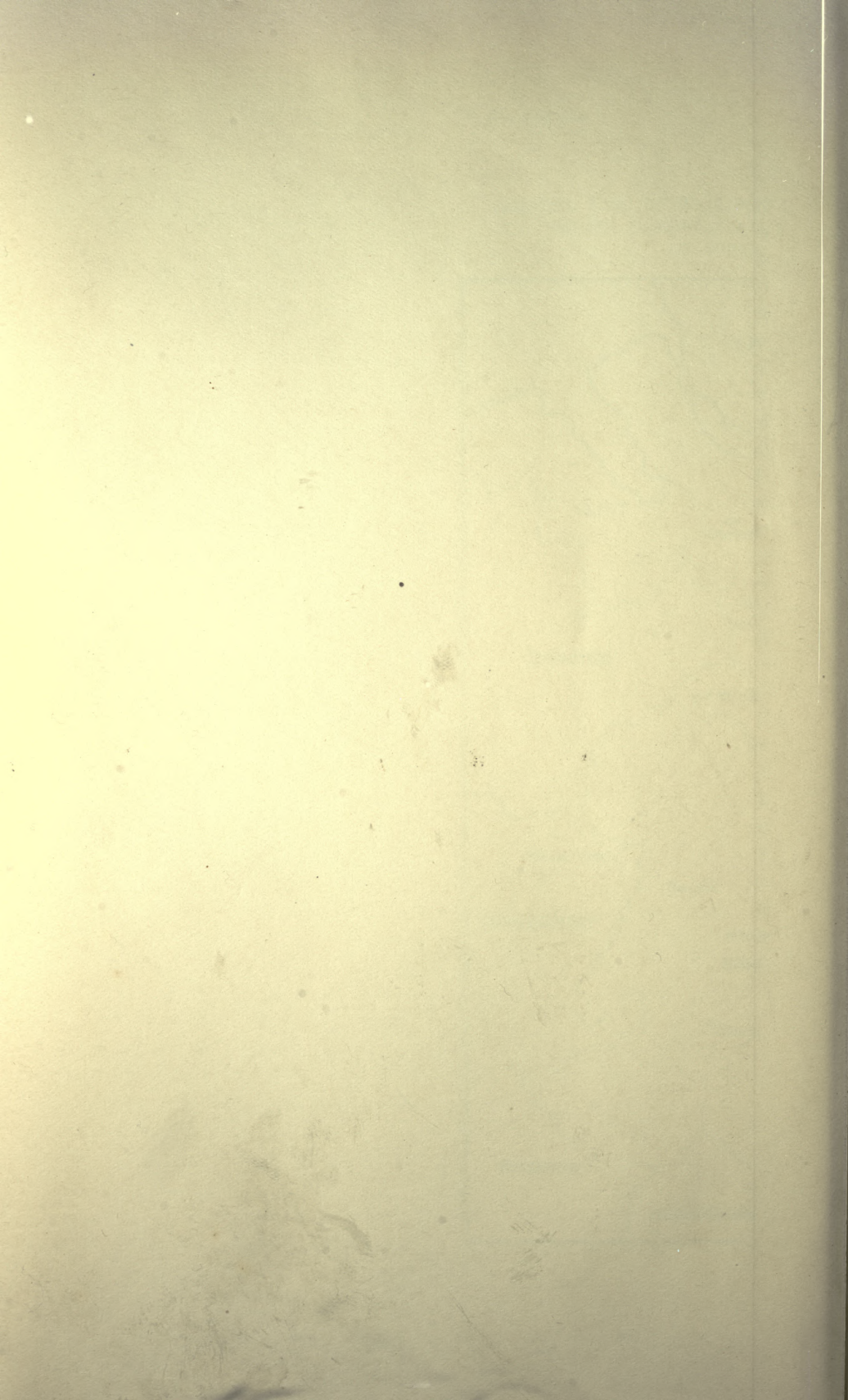


SKETCH MAP.

TWEEN VENONÆ (HIGH CROSS) AND VIROCONIUM (WROXETER) AND BEEN MADE AS TO SITES OF STATIONS ON ITS COURSE AND FOR DEVA (CHESTER) AND MAMUCIUM (MANCHESTER).



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CORRESPONDENCE.

To the Editor of "The Staffordshire Historical Collections."

DEAR SIR,

Since the publication of the Society's Vol. XI. N.S. some further information with respect to the Bagot Family has come to light, which seems to call for a few corrections in the late General Wrottesley's History contained in that volume; and since some of the Corrigenda on pp. 222, 223 arose out of communications which I made to him, I feel it incumbent on me, if I may be allowed, to correct any errors there for which I am in any measure responsible.

I am,

yours faithfully,

D. S. MURRAY.

(1) In regard to pp. 67, 68, and 222, it may be convenient, for the sake of clearness, to repeat some of the information there given. The will of Sir Lewis Bagot who died in 1534 has recently been found at the Lichfield Probate Registry, and there is also at the Public Record Office an inquisition taken on the death of his son Thomas. These two documents, neither of which is referred to by General Wrottesley, are printed below. It appears from them that Sir Lewis had *four* (not *three*) sons by his (third) wife Anne (Montgomery), viz. Thomas, who succeeded him, Edward, Geoffrey, and Stephen; and further that, besides the daughters named in the Visitation Pedigree of 1583, but not mentioned in his will, he had living at the date of his will three other daughters, viz. Maud and Anne, both then unmarried, and Alice who had married an Alablasour (Arblaster). The monument in Blithfield Church to the memory of Sir Lewis Bagot, as it now exists, is the westernmost of three "Altar-Tombs" placed end to end along the northern wall of the Sanctuary, but it is clear that two of these three tombs, viz. those of Sir Lewis and his son Thomas, are not now in their original form, the slabs having evidently been considerably

reduced in size to enable the third "Altar-Tomb," that of Sir Lewis's grandson Richard, to be placed next and to the east of them and reaching up to, and indeed into, the east wall of the Chancel. It is probable that originally the monuments of Sir Lewis and Thomas were simply slabs placed on the floor of the Chancel, similar to several others in the Church of about the same date, and that they were raised to their present position by the addition of bases when the third monument was erected in memory of Richard after his death in 1597, the inscriptions round the (new) bevelled edge of Sir Lewis's monument and on the two ends of Thomas's monument, and the shields in the arched recesses behind them and on the south sides of the bases, being added at the same time. Sir Lewis is depicted on his monument as lying between two wives, while the head of a third female (without a coif) is introduced on his right side between him and one of the full-length female figures. In a compartment at the foot of the lady on his right side are depicted eleven children, five sons and six daughters; while in the corresponding compartment on his left side are the figures of eight children, four sons and four daughters, three of the former being grouped round what appears to be the representation of the eldest. The ermine edging to the robe of this latter figure, which may be seen also on that of one of the sons in the southern compartment, seems to distinguish them from the rest. Of the four daughters the two smaller, and presumably younger, figures are represented with coifs on their heads. The inscription round the now bevelled edge is as follows:—

"Hic : Jacent : Corpora : Lodowici : Bagott : Militis : & : Anne ::
 Uxoris : ei' : qui quidem : Lodowic' : obiit : ultimo : die :
 Mēsis : Maii : A° : dni : M° : d°xxxiv°- : que : vero : A° :
 obiit : qto : die : Mensis Septembris : A° : dñi : M :
 cccc : xiiij : quōr Aiab' ppiciat' deus : Amen :"

On the south side of the base of the monument are four shields commemorating his children, or some of them, viz. : (1) Bagot impaling Astley, (2) Bagot impaled with the following coat, *or*, three stags' heads coupéd *gules*, on a canton of the second a fleur-de-lys of the first. (This dexter side of the shield is painted only, not carved in relief as are all the rest.) (3) Bagot

impaled with Meverell, and (4) Bagot impaled with a coat apparently once painted but afterwards defaced, traces of an argent field being all that now remains of it. On the wall in an arched recess above the monument, in their position and style similar to those above the other two monuments, are three shields, viz.: (1) Bagot impaling Curzon (for Sir Lewis's father and mother), (2) Bagot impaling Montgomery (for himself and his third wife, the mother of his heir), and (3) Montgomery impaling Delves (for his wife's parents).

There can hardly be any doubt that the two full-length female figures represent his second wife Emma (Kniveton), and his third wife Anne (Montgomery), and that the third smaller head represents his first wife Lucy (Kniveton), to whom he was married in 1475 when only about 14 years of age, and who was probably sister of his second wife, and must have died in early youth. There was formerly in the glass of one of the North Clerestory windows figures of Sir Lewis and the same three wives, with the following inscription:—

“Orate pro felici statu Lodowici Bagot militis et dnæ Annæ uxoris suæ et pro animis magistræ Luciæ et dnæ Emmæ uxõr.”

The figures of these three wives, and part of the original inscription, are now in the two-light window at the west side of the Tower, but the figure of the knight himself no longer exists. This window contains also a shield, which probably formerly had a place in the Clerestory in connection with the same figures, bearing quarterly (1) Bagot, (2) Montgomery, (3) Kniveton, and (4) Malory, a curious combination if it represents (as apparently it does) the arms of Sir Lewis and two of his wives (neither of whom were heiresses), and one of the early Bagot quarterings.

It seems now to be clear that the eleven children figured on the right side of Sir Lewis must include his eldest son John, who lived to grow up and marry, but died without issue in his father's life-time (1512), and the four daughters mentioned in the Visitation Pedigree of 1583, viz. Jane Thirkeld, Elena Meverell, Elizabeth East, and Anne (?) Biddulph; all his other children by his second wife dying without issue before him. It would then

follow that the eight children represented on his left are those by his third wife, viz. the four sons Thomas, Edward, Geoffrey, and Stephen, and four daughters Maud, Anne, Alice (Arblaster), and another who must have died before the date of his will. There are reasons for thinking that this monument was originally engraved in Sir Lewis's life-time, and probably soon after his marriage with his third wife Anne (Montgomery), and that the southern compartment must have been filled in at a later date when all his children had grown up. It may be noticed that the arms painted on the dexter side of the second shield on the base of the monument, which might have been expected to represent (and have usually been described as) those of Thirkeld are not those generally assigned to that family, but closely resemble those assigned in ordinaries to Sherfield and also to the third quartering of the arms of Adderley of Blackhaugh, as given (without name) in the Visitations of 1614 and 1663-4 (*Staff. His. Coll.*, Vol. V. pt. ii, p. 2); and it is a somewhat curious coincidence that Thomas Adderley of Blackhaugh married the sister of Thomas Thirkeld, who was the husband of Sir Lewis's daughter Jane.

(2) The discrepancy as to date referred to on p. 223, in a note respecting p. 67, line 10, of the text, is due to a mistake in transcription made by Dugdale and Ashmole in 1663, and perpetuated by Shaw. The monument at Patshull was unfortunately destroyed many years ago, doubtless when the Church was rebuilt; but in the Salt Library copy of the Huntbach MSS. (Part II, 2nd div. p. 32) the inscription is given thus:—"Hic sepultum jacet corpus Annæ Bagot uxor' Lodowici Bagot de Blithfield militis que obiit quarto die Sept anno dni 1514." The date therefore on the Patshull monument was in accord with that on Sir Lewis Bagot's tomb at Blithfield; though the discrepancy as to the *place* of burial still remains unexplained.

ABSTRACT OF

Will of SIR LEWIS BAGOTT of Blithfield, co. Stafford, knight.

Proved at Lichfield 5 July 1535 by Thomas Bagot, the son.

Will dated 21 April 1534. Directions for burial in the chancel of Blyffeld Church.

Bequeaths to St. Mary House of Coventry 3s. 4d.

to the Freere House of Lych 3s. 4d.

to the two Freere Houses of Stafford 3s. 4d. each.

to oure Ladye of Blythfeld a cowe.

to Ladies Gylde of Bromley Abbats a heyfer.

to my son *Thomas Bagot* gold chaine, ryngs, &c. &c.

to my son *Edward Bagot* certain apparel, 4 marks of land for life, which land is now in holding of Thomas Crosse of Redshall, &c. &c.

to my son *Geffery Bagot* apparel and 4 marks yerely for life yf my son Geffery be not prest, and if he be prest said 4 marks to remain to my eldest son and heire Thomas Bagot.

to my son *Stephen Bagot* apparel and 4 marks yerely.

my son Thomas Bagot to give my daughter *Mawde Bagot* 20s. yerely if unmarried, when she marries 100 marks yff she will be ordered by him.

to my daughter *An Bagot* 5 marks yerely for life, yff she marry not, if she marry then to remain to my son and heyre Thomas Bagot, and he to give her 100 marks yf she will be ordered by him.

to my son Thomas Bagot all my lands, lordships, &c., he to find a prest to syng for me in the church of Blythfield for 2 years at stypend of 40s. a yere and meate and drink.

to my servant William Sherrott 2 bullocks and 2 heyffers.

to my servant William Iremonger 2 heyffers.

my son Thomas Bagot to kepe Rychard Willington in house with meate &c. and 20s. yerely for life.

to every of my sons and servants a black jacket, and every of my daughters a gowne, to witte, my daughter *Mawde*, my daughter *Anne*, and *Alis Alablasour* [Arblaster].

my son Thomas to discharge William Sherrott, John Day, John Salford and all other of my tenants dewtys.

all lands as was John Lavnes which I have kept in my hands for cheff rent unpaid to church of Blyffeld.

to oure Ladye Gylde of Bromley Abbats and to chapel of
Newborrow certain lands, &c.

my hynds to have holl yere's wages.

William Sherrott if he depart to have an ambling colt I
bought of him.

residue to my son Thomas Bagot, and appoint him and my
cozen John Byckelay executors.

Witnesses Sir Thomas Wilson Vicar of Abbats Bromley, William
Sherrott, and William Iremonger.

Inventory 8 June 1534 ("late deceased") by Raf Pete, William Pert,
John Pate and William Harvye.

ABSTRACT OF

Inquisition, 34 Hen. VIII., *post mortem* of THOMAS BAGOT.

(Chan. Ser. II., Vol. 67, No. 96.)

Inquisition taken at Stafford 22 July, 34 Hen. VIII. [1542]. Findings of
jurors to following effect :—

Thomas Bagot died seised of manors of Blyffeld and Bromley Bagots,
and of manor of Felde, and of 100 messuages, 2000 acres of land,
200 acres of meadow, 1000 acres of pasture, 1000 acres of wood,
100 acres of furze and heath and 20 librates of rent in Blyffeld,
Bromley Bagots, Newton, Admaston, Lee, Blythbury, Felde,
Bromley Abbots, Stafford, Heywoode and Dunstall, co. Stafford,
and advowson of Blyffeld.

Thomas Bagot by his Will dated 13 May, 33 Hen. VIII. [1541], left to
his son *John Bagot* for his life a tenement or messuage in the
tenure of Walter de Beerley, and one house with its appurtenances
in Newton Hurst in the tenure of William Lane; and, after
providing for his daughters Margaret and Matilda Bagot
100 marks in the event of their marriages in accordance with the
wishes of their mother, left the rest of his lands, &c., to his wife
Joan during the minority of his own heir, and directed that his
wife Joan should have his dwelling house called Hislegge (?) in
Bagots Park for her life, and that Henry P . . . and Anne his
wife should have his farm in the tenure of Geoffrey Fraunces for
their lives and the life of the survivor of them.

The reversion of the premises above mentioned had descended to his
son Richard Bagot.

The manor of Bromley Bagotts and the hereditaments in Bromley
Bagotts, Blythbury, Heywoode, Lye, and Dunstall were held of the
king as of his castle of Stafford by reason of the attainder of
Edward Duke of Buckingham, and were of the annual value
of £30.

Thomas Bagot also died seised of the manor of Letylhay in Colton, and 4 messuages, 200 acres of land, 40 acres of meadow, and 100 acres of pasture in Colton, and 1 messuage, 20 acres of land, and other lands and tenements in Admaston, and 1 pasture called the Mille Pole in Kyngston.

The manor of Letylhay and hereditaments in Colton were held of George Gresley, knight, as of his manor of Colton by knight's service, viz., by one whole knight's fee, a rent of 3s. 4d. per annum and suit of Court, and were of the annual value of 46s. 8d.

The messuage and other premises in Admaston were held of the said George Gresley, knight, by knight's service, a rent of 9d. per annum and suit of Court, and were of the annual value of 46s. 8d.

The close called Mille Poole in Kynston was held of the said George Gresley, knight, as of his manor of Kynston by rent of 2s. per annum, suit of Court and render on death of his best armature called his chefe wayne, and was of the annual value of 8s.

The manor of Felde and hereditaments in Felde and Abbotts Bromley were held of the king by reason of the dissolution of the late monastery of Burton-on-Trent by fealty and a rent of 20s. per annum, and were of the annual value of £10.

The manors of Blyffeld and Newton and the advowson of Blyffeld were held of the king as of his honour of Tutbury, parcel of his Duchy of Lancaster, by knight's service, and were of the annual value of £20.

The land and tenements in Stafford were held of the king in free socage as of his borough of Stafford, and were of the annual value of 20s.

Thomas Bagot died 14 May, 33 Hen. VIII. [1541].

Richard Bagot, his son and heir, aged 12 on the feast of the Conception of the B. V. Mary last past [8 Dec. 1541].

Joan Bagot, his widow, in possession of his lands, &c.

It then proceeds as follows :—

“And further the jurors aforesaid say upon their oath that Lewis Bagott, knight, by his deed dated Henry VIII. gave and granted to *Stephen Bagott* his son certain lands and tenements lying and being in Bagotts Bromley in the county aforesaid in which Edward Howe (?) and John Pyrley (?) dwell and occupy for a term of years of the annual value of 4 marks to hold to the said Stephen for the term of his life.

“And further the jurors aforesaid say that the aforesaid Lewis Bagott, knight, by another deed dated Hen. VIII. gave and granted to *Geoffrey Bagott* his son certain lands and tenements lying and being in Bagotts Bromley aforesaid in the county aforesaid in which James Whiteholt (?) dwells and occupies for a term of years of the annual value of 4 marks to hold to the said Geoffrey for the term of his life.

“And further the jurors aforesaid say upon their oath that the aforesaid Lewis Bagott, knight, in his life by his deed dated Hen. VIII. gave and granted to *Edward Bagott* his son one tenement and certain lands lying and being in Bagotts Bromley in the county aforesaid in which Thomas Crosse dwells and occupies for a term of years of the annual value of 4 marks to hold to the said Edward for the term of his life.”

Further findings that the said Thomas Bagott, esquire, by deed dated 18 Jan., 29 Hen. VIII. [1537-8], granted to Walter Blunt, gentleman, an annuity of 20s. 8d. issuing out of all his lands for good counsel and also for executing the office of steward for keeping his manorial courts, such annuity to be held for his life, that the said Lewis Bagott, knight, by deed dated 14 Oct. 13 Hen. VIII. [1521] granted to William Sherrard a piece of land in Bagotts Park called le Queche to hold for his life, and by the same deed granted to the said William Sherrard the office of keeping his deer in Bagotts Park, with sufficient pasture for one horse and six cows within Bagotts Park and windfall wood to hold for his life, that by deed dated 20 May 10 Hen. VIII. [1518] he granted to Thomas Lethom of Bagotts Bromley an annuity of 20s. issuing out of a tenement at Dunstall lately in the tenure of Geoffrey Rede *alias* Sukey and now in the tenure of the said Thomas Lethom to hold for his life, and that Thomas Bagott, esquire, granted to the said William Sherrard an annuity of 10s. issuing out of the manor of Felde *pro tolleto* rent of his manor of Felde such annuity to be held for his life.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

p. 16, l. 3: "*æt there syhl.*" This should, I think, have been translated "at the plough" instead of "miry place." The plough land was to be the bishop's, but not the movable chattels upon it. Cf. *Laws of king Æthelstan*, I., 16 (Record ed., pp. 88, 549), where the same expression is used.

p. 306, l. 10: In the compilation of Welsh laws known as the Laws of Howel dda, of which the earliest MS. that now exists is attributed to the twelfth century, mention is made of Dyfnwal Moel mud as a British king who reigned over the whole island and was the first establisher of good laws there, the only note given of his date being that it was before the supremacy was seized by the Saxons (*Venedotian Code*, II, xvii). He is here described as the son of Clydno, earl of Cernyw (Cornwall), by a daughter of the king of Lloegyr (England), and it is stated that he obtained the kingdom by the distaff on the extinction of the male line, and that his laws continued in force until the time of Howel dda (died 950). The measurements, which he took in order that he might know the tribute of the island, the number of miles, and the journeys in days, are said to have been continued by Howel dda as they were left by Dyfnwal "because he was the best measurer." His measurements are given thus:—

"He measured this island from the promontory of Blathäon in Prydain to the promontory of Penwaed in Cernyw; and that is 900 miles, the length of this island: and from Crigyll in Mon to Soram on the shore of the Mor Udd, which is 500 miles; and that is the breadth of this island."

And this is followed by a table of linear measurement, under which 3 barley corns make 1 inch, 3 inches 1 palm's breadth,

3 palms' breadths 1 foot, 3 feet 1 pace, 3 paces 1 leap, 3 leaps 1 land, and 1000 lands 1 mile. It is, I think, clear that there must be some mistake here, for it would make a mile many times too large. It will be noticed that all the steps of the table except the last follow the threefold division, which seems to have been so dear to the Welsh minds of that day, the result being that, while the first two steps agree with the modern English measures, a foot then consisted of 9 instead of 12 inches, so that a pace would be equivalent to $2\frac{1}{4}$ feet of English measure. But I am unable to offer any useful suggestion as to how the table should be corrected: 1000 leaps would still be too large, 1000 paces too small, for a mile, nor would 1000 double paces (the Roman *passus*) give the required result. However, it is clear that the breadth of the island was measured from somewhere on the north-west coast of Mona or Anglesey to somewhere on the south-east coast of Kent, the actual distance of which would be about 330 English miles as compared with the 500 British miles of Dyfnwal's measurement, *i.e.*, approximately 2 English to 3 British miles. If a corresponding reduction is made in the length measurement, the length of the island from "the promontory of Blathäon in Prydain to the promontory of Penwaed in Cernyw" would be about 600 English miles. Now Penwaed in Cernyw is obviously Penwith promontory at the south-west extremity of Cornwall, and Blathäon in Prydain must, I think, be somewhere in the neighbourhood of North Berwick, on the north-east coast of Haddingtonshire, facing the Firth of Forth, which was the northern limit of ancient Britain, as it was also for a considerable period the extreme limit of the Roman occupation, so long at least as Agricola's line of forts or the wall of Antoninus Pius, between the Forth and the Clyde (the Bodotria and Clota of Tacitus), formed an effective barrier against the northern barbarians: and this will correspond fairly well with the distance by road from the Land's End. It is only reasonable to suppose that the tracks along which Dyfnwal's measurements were taken would be followed by his son Belin in laying out his great roads, and, whatever the real

origin of the name Watling Street may be, I cannot myself doubt that its north-western terminus was on the isle of Mona, the sanctuary of the Druids, where they were so ruthlessly slaughtered by the Roman governor, Suetonius Paulinus, in A.D. 61. I know that it has become the fashion of late to write of Dyfnwal Moel mud and his son Belin as purely legendary kings of Britain, but whatever the true date of their respective reigns may be, and however much Geoffrey of Monmouth may have drawn upon his imagination for the picturesque details of their careers, there must surely be some foundation in fact for the existence of a king who left so marked an impression upon his country's history as Dyfnwal Moel mud. C. G. O. B.

The regnal years of the early Saxon kings given in this volume should now be corrected in accordance with Mr. Murray Beaven's valuable article in the *English Historical Review*, October, 1917, as follows :—

Ælfred	...	...	died 26 Oct., 899.
Eadward I.	died 17 July, 925.
Æthelstan	died 27 Oct., 939.
Eadmund I.	died 26 May, 946.

J. C. W.

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- of Lichfield and Leicester, Hemele, Herewine, Hunbeorht, Hwita, Hygebeorht Archbishop of Lichfield, Jaruman Bishop of the Mercians, Leofgar, Leofwine, R. Bishop of Coventry, Robert Bishop of Chester, Robert (Peche) Bishop of Coventry and Chester, Roger (de Clinton) Bishop of Coventry and Chester, St Chad, Seaxwulf, Tunbeorht, Wigmund, Winfrith, Wulfgar, Wulfred, Wulfsgige, Wynsgige.
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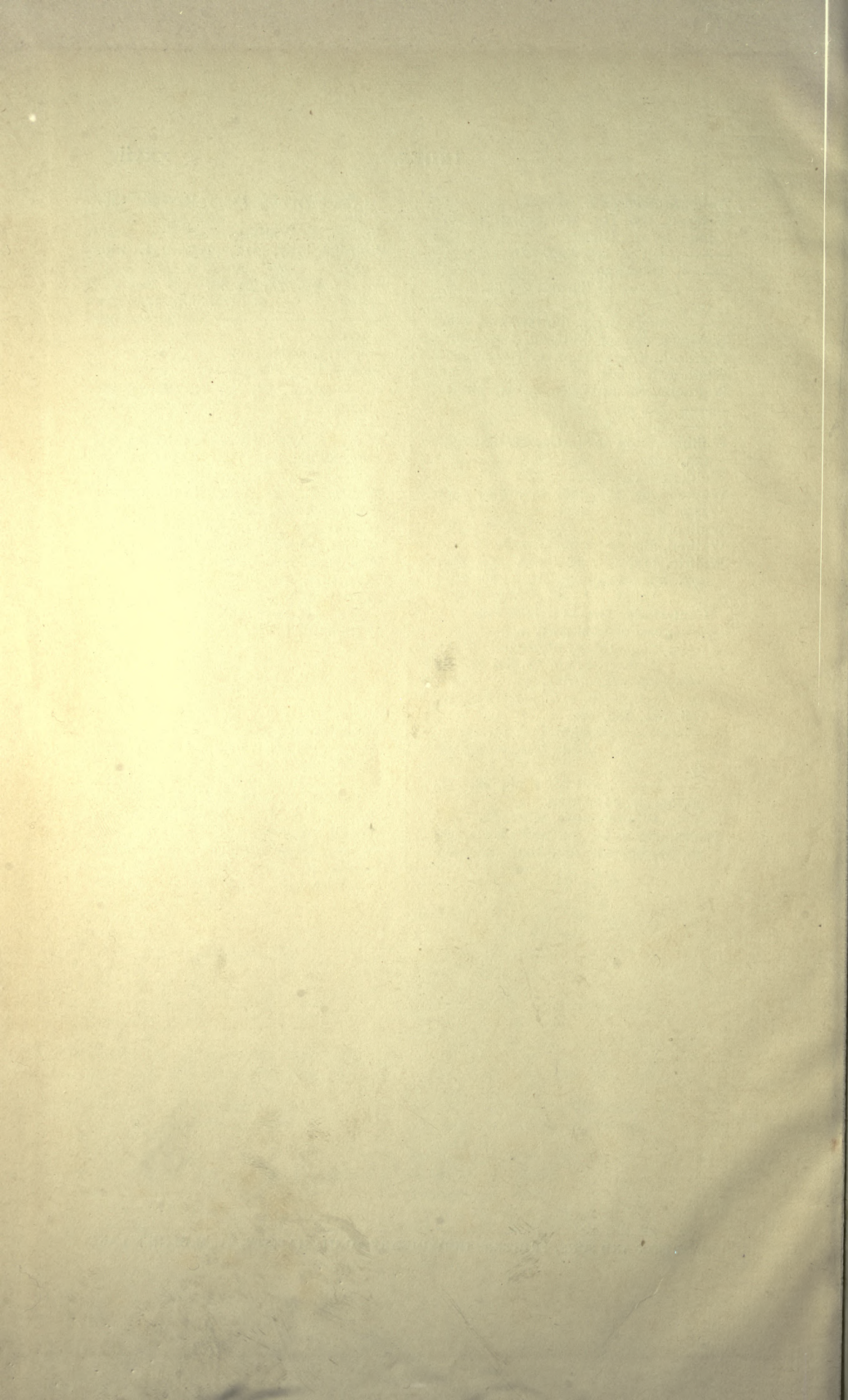
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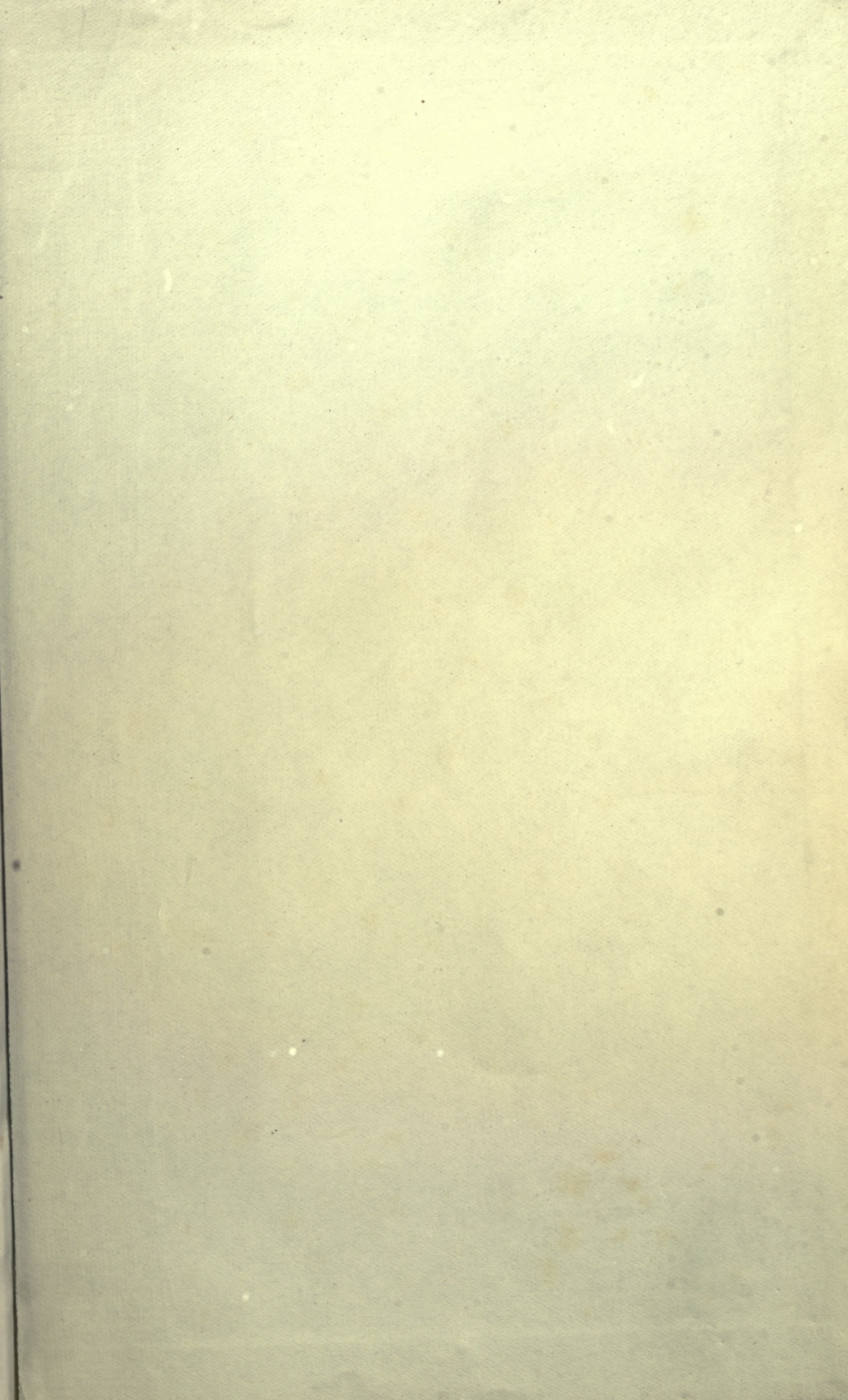
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